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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000dff7>

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES - 1870-1904

DEGREE APPLIED FOR - Ph.D

CENTRE FOR SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

SUBMITTED 1991

Author number: K0366470
Date of submission: 13 August 1991
Date of award: 30 April 1992

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TITLE OF THESIS: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE
EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES,
1870-1904

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ABSTRACT

Focusing upon the twenty-nine female members of the London School Board, this thesis examines the position of women involved with the institution of elementary education in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. It is usually assumed that the responsibility for mass schooling mostly lay with men working within both central and local government. I have gone beyond this perspective in order to examine the problem of class and gender as competing power structures in the development of an English school system.

The issue of gender is addressed by investigating both gender relations on the various School Boards for London, and the relationship between contemporary notions of masculinity and femininity and elementary education between 1870 and 1904. In exploring the ways in which the social inequalities of gender shaped and influenced women's experience of public office, the study goes some way towards correcting the emphasis upon predominantly male agents in existing historical accounts of the relationship between the educational structure and society and the inter-relationship of its component parts.

Focusing upon the biographies of female members of the London School Board, the thesis explores the links between private life, social networks and the entry of women to the public domain. It examines the stance adopted by individual London School Board women on the formal curriculum, the administration of reformatory institutions, and attitudes

towards working class children in school, considered in terms of the interplay of the social divisions of gender and class.

Please note that both Chapter Four and the opening section of chapter Five were published (September 1991) in the History of Education under the title: 'Hard-Headed and Large-Hearted: Women and the Industrial Schools.'

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INTRODUCTION.

This thesis examines the work of twenty-nine women elected to the School Board for London between 1870 and 1904 who, along with their predominantly male colleagues, faced the unenviable task of shaping the embryonic system of working class education. I wanted to question the implication, rarely spelt out but implicit in much of what has been written, that the responsibility for mass schooling lay with men working within both central and local government. The topic reflects both my personal interest in the subject of women and education and a more general interest in late-Victorian and Edwardian England.

My initial interest in the process of schooling dates back to the years I spent as an undergraduate with the Open University, during which I first encountered work within the sociology of education in the field of gendered schooling. Already harnessed to the yoke of domesticity, I can well remember the impact it exerted upon my self-image and perception of the world to discover that my own experiences of state schooling were mirrored in much of the empirical research on the process of girls' schooling! A feeling of empathy with the bulk of contemporary sociological studies of women and schooling was to be deepened and enriched following my re-introduction to history as an academic field of study.

This re-introduction occurred during my time as a postgraduate student at Warwick University studying for a Master of Arts in the sociology of education. Although part of the course was directed towards a

consideration of the methodological issues raised by sociological research into schools and classrooms, this was also balanced by more theoretical accounts of the relationship between school and society. Exploring the social origins of public educational systems therefore provided a contextual framework in which to consider such issues as the relationship between contemporary studies of classroom and curricula and the broader institutional and societal structure.

Acutely aware of the social inequalities of gender, that is, "the psychological and cultural definitions of the dimensions 'masculine' and 'feminine'" (Deem, 1980, p.1), I was to be severely disappointed by mainstream historical accounts of the development of mass schooling in England and Wales. All too often such accounts were characterised by the tendency to subsume the social divisions of gender within the social divisions of class. Consequently I wanted to help redress this imbalance by tracing the links between patterns of girls' schooling and the influence exerted by custom, tradition and practice, using the medium of an historical exploration of the relationship between the concept of an 'educational system' and its social origins.(1)

These concerns took shape in a Masters' dissertation exploring the significance of gender in relation to the process of educational change which took place in England between 1810 and 1902. (Martin, 1987) The adoption of a historical perspective for the sociological study ensured that the process of data collection was a pleasurable experience, providing me with the opportunity to handle historical sources at first hand. Just as the origins of public educational systems cannot be

understood apart from their context, similarly, the issue of gender as an organising principle of contemporary schools, classrooms and curricula cannot be understood apart from the long history of the debate over sex and gender divisions reflected within the present institutional forms.

On the basis of the evidence presented, I concluded that nineteenth century schools were clearly involved in the transmission of gender divisions and power relationships designed to inculcate the status quo. It is important not to lose sight of the individual by being overly deterministic. However there is a need to acknowledge the fact that differentiation along the lines of gender does have implications for both girls and boys, irrespective of class, causing each to narrow their expectations and life experiences accordingly. As the pathos of this contemporary example relating to seven-year-old Michael illustrates, gender differentiation affects boys as well as girls:

Michael, much to the concern of his teachers and to the contempt of his peer group, loved to play with dolls. He liked to bake, and constantly sought the company of girls, despite their insults. He was constantly admonished by his teacher to 'try to behave properly' but to no avail ... Because it is conveyed to the class that Michael's behaviour is deviant, he is the target of much bullying by some girls and most boys. The headteacher, a kind and progressive woman, remarks that Michael is confused between masculine and feminine roles, and she suspects that he has 'feminine genes' ... The obvious implications in this, is that deviant behaviour is caused by some personality disorder, that is, a biological malfunction. It is not that Michael is being attacked personally, but rather his behaviour - his identification with the inferior sex, female.

Clarricoates, 1980, pp 35-6.

This thesis represents a significant change in emphasis from my earlier work in that it moves beyond the focus upon social and economic factors

causing girls and boys to have dissimilar educational experiences to consider the role played by female policy-makers and administrators in the field of elementary education. To some extent this represents my personal response to the historical and sociological literature on gender and schooling, since the process of reading served to accentuate a quite significant gap in the field. Broadly speaking, despite the growing body of work on the education of women and girls, both historical and sociological studies share a marked tendency to approach the subject matter from the perspective of the schooling process and its impact upon the student rather than from the position of women involved with the institution of schooling. This in itself may represent a response to previous neglect of women and girls in studies focusing mainly on the education of men and boys. Furthermore, all male studies were too frequently misrepresented by subsequent authors as studies of both sexes, through the use of the misleading and blanket term children, in later publications.

Consequently whilst educational historians have long recognised the significance of the post-1870 period for working class education, until recently such work was marred by an assumption that the education of working class girls was inseparable from that of working class boys. Among historians of women's education this assumption manifested itself in a focus on the schooling of middle class, rather than working class girls. As a result, whilst the activities of those fighting for secondary and higher education have been well documented, there has been relatively little emphasis upon the women involved in the administration

and policy shaping of working class education in late-Victorian and Edwardian England.

It was this neglect which led me to move away from my original research proposal for a cross-class comparison of the education of girls in London between 1870 and 1904, to explore the role of women in the development of mass elementary schooling in London over the same thirty-four year period. I wanted to question existing historical accounts of the relationship between the educational structure and society and the inter-relationship of its component parts and their tendency to attach primacy to the role of predominantly male agents, ranging from members of Parliament and members of religious denominations to social reformers and trade union leaders. Only by widening the perspective to include an analysis of the role played by women during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries does it become possible to see the vital post-1870 period in elementary education with clear eyes.

1.0. WHY DOES GENDER MATTER?

Significantly, as Carol Dyhouse (1987, p.23) points out: "education was (and is) one of the few areas of public life where women *have* achieved a measure of status and authority." Bearing this statement in mind, the field of educational administration offers an extremely fertile area in which to explore the ways in which the social inequalities of gender shape women's experiences of public office. What gives the analysis added significance is the fact that, unlike their predominantly male

colleagues, female members of the London School Board were amongst the first women in England to be elected to positions of this kind of political responsibility. Some understanding of the conflicts these women faced whilst operating within a political environment, albeit at a local level, can only serve to heighten an awareness of why, according to the Conservative MP Emma Nicholson: "sometimes, whether you are a man or woman seems to matter more than anything else in this place." (Guardian 28/11/1990, p.38)

1.1. The Formation of the London School Board.

As Archer (1979) makes clear, the 1870 Education Act reflected the balance of power between two coalitions then campaigning for educational reform – the National Education League, supported by the newly enfranchised middle classes, dissenters, the TUC and forty Liberal M.P.s; and the National Education Union comprising the Anglican Church and the Tory party. Despite their newly shared belief in the importance of elementary education for all working class children, disagreements over form and content were complicated by the so-called 'religious issue,' with the former pressing the case for publicly provided, non-sectarian schools, the latter defending the interests of the Church schools and religion. Set against a backdrop of organised pressure in the educational field, the result was a legislative compromise which effectively fastened a dual system of organisation on elementary education. Whilst provision was made for the establishment of school boards to 'plug the gaps' by levying a rate for education, the future of

existing Church schools was secured through the promise of an increased Treasury grant. Elected every three years, Board members were responsible for ensuring local educational needs were met, erecting buildings where these were lacking, providing teachers and, if they thought proper, enforcing the attendance of non-exempted children under thirteen. (Simon, 1981, pp 364-5)

1.2.Election and Selection Procedures.

Possibly in acknowledgement of its non-sexist credentials (in that it did not discriminate between voters on the grounds of their sex), recent analyses of the school board franchise offer a consistently positive assessment of these developments, broadly conceptualised as part and parcel of a halting progression towards parliamentary democracy. (Hollis, 1987; Levine, 1987; Turnbull, 1983). Essentially the Act of 1870 incorporated a well-defined group of women into a well established framework of rights and privileges connecting property with political representation. Accordingly a school board constituency consisted of both male and unmarried/widowed female ratepayers. Minority representation was facilitated by a system of cumulative voting giving each elector as many votes as there were places on the Board, which could either be distributed or 'plumped' on one candidate. Theoretically any adult was eligible to stand for election, but the need to meet election expenses and the fact that the work was both unpaid and virtually carte blanche in terms of the time involved, would have been a tremendous hurdle for anyone unable to command an independent source of income.

Irrespective of the suffrage developments encapsulated by the school board franchise, according to Morris (1972, p.24), the major innovation of 1870 was the actual establishment of public local agencies with powers to use local taxation for purposes which had hitherto been the prerogative of private and voluntary enterprise. Despite common ground between Liberals and Conservatives over the need to fill the gaps in elementary school provision, the parliamentary parties differed over the preferred path by which to attain the aim over which they were united, that is, a school place for every child. Whilst Conservatives were quite happy to perpetuate the existing direct grant system, with such improvements as occasion might demand, the Liberal spokesman W.E.Forster contended that some new machinery was required because the voluntary system had been outpaced and was incapable of catching up. In Forster's words: "Voluntary local agency has failed, therefore our hope is to invoke the help of municipal organisation." (cited in Morris, 1972, p.27.)

Doubts about the employment of rates and the creation of a public local agency to supplement the efforts of private benefactors were countered pragmatically by citing the administrative advantages for the Education Department in dealing with a 'body' which represented all the schools in a parish instead of communicating with individual schools. The desirability of achieving a balance between central and local control was succinctly summed up by Forster during the preceding parliamentary debate:

I believe it is not in the power of any central department to undertake such duty throughout the kingdom. Consider also the tremendous power it would give the central administration. Well,

then, if government cannot do it itself by central action, we must rely upon local agency.

Maclure, 1974, p.102.

This is in stark contrast to a major strand in late-twentieth century Conservative thinking on the distribution of educational power which, far from embracing the fears voiced by Victorian civil servants in the Education Department, was vociferous in its support for freeing schools from local authority control. Hence the 1988 Education Reform Act actually created a new category of state schools in the grant-maintained sector, in which "decision-making devolved entirely to the individual headteacher and governing body (albeit within the constraints imposed by central government), severely limiting the extent to which education policy can be influenced by interest groups in the wider society." (Flude and Hammer, 1990) Stressing the desirability of dismantling constraints upon individual schools and injecting a spirit of competition, Conservative policy-makers in the late 1980s/early 1990s effectively gave the Secretary of State for Education 'executive authority over a whole category of schools'. (Maclure, 1989) Despite the intention to create a market place in education, it is not inconceivable that this process of centralization will simply fulfil the worst expectations of their Victorian predecessors.

In order to understand the School Board era in English educational history, it is essential to be able to relate debates over the relationship between central and local control and individualised voluntary action to counter-balance excessive state intervention, to a broader socio-political and cultural context. By focusing upon the

'jewel in the crown' of the school board system (that is, the London School Board) I can reflect on some of the implications of the 1870 Education Act, within a specifically metropolitan setting. For me the medium of local educational administration is especially interesting because of the platform it provided for a small, necessarily select group of women to demonstrate their political potential.

1.3. The Case Study.

Given the lack of studies on individual Boards during this period in the history of education, the decision to focus upon the London Board is to acknowledge its exceptional nature which, in its own day, was universally recognised. (Rubinstein, 1969, p.27) The school board for London differed from its counterparts in the rest of England and Wales in two important respects. Firstly, unlike those others it was created under the terms of the Education Act of 1870. Secondly, while other Boards were restricted to between five and fifteen members, the first London Board had forty-nine members rising to fifty-five by the mid-1880s. Factors of size and formation not only placed it in a unique position vis-a-vis the issue of central-local control embodied in relations between the Board and the Education Department, but in terms of the role it was to play as a representative of, and in setting the educational standards for, other Boards.

Contemporaries greeted the formation of the London Board with a combination of awe and respect: "No equally powerful body will exist in

England outside Parliament, if power be measured by influence for good or evil over masses of human beings." (The Times, 29 November 1870). To be elected as one of its members, therefore, not only carried with it a sense of social responsibility but served to convey a certain sense of self-importance and social esteem amongst one's peers. The opportunity thus presented was especially significant for women, since school boards were the first public bodies in England and Wales to admit women on the same terms as men. The case study explores the links between the social and political networks of these women, many of whom played an active role in the circles of the late-Victorian metropolitan women's movement. (2)

It is possible to divide the primary female 'informants' into four broad, not necessarily mutually exclusive, groups. Firstly, there were the twenty-nine women elected to serve on the eleven school boards for London created under the terms of the 1870 Education Act. Secondly, there were those women who played a part in securing the necessary support for those electoral successes. Thirdly, there were the female members of the divisional committees formed for each of the electoral divisions of the metropolis, which were part of the Board's machinery for enforcing the bye-laws relating to school attendance. Finally, there were the local women managers responsible for the day-to-day management of either individual board schools or groups of local schools.

Because of my belief that 'the personal is political' in the sense that what individuals do in their personal lives has a broader collective impact, I approached the task by exploring the women's private as well

as their public lives. Details of their work in the field of elementary education were obtained by consulting the body of official material on the London School Board, substantiated by the use of the School Board Chronicle. As the school boards' official organ, this educational periodical was largely devoted to the dissemination of edited details of debates occurring at the weekly meetings of school boards throughout England and Wales, but heavily biased in favour of London in terms of the allocation of news-space. Other published commentary consulted included the teachers' press, Victorian periodicals and local newspapers, supported by reference to the archives of other relevant institutions like the Board's successor, the London County Council, quite apart from parliamentary papers on elementary education.

As I wanted to develop a more rounded image of these women's lives and how they managed to cope with the demands of public life on a day-to-day level, such official sources were supplemented by the use of personal texts like letters, diaries and unpublished autobiographies. In the hope of gathering relevant biographical material and building up a picture of their social, economic and political world, I referred to other published commentary and reporting, including Victorian periodicals and the various women's journals, as well as biographies of these women and those of their contemporaries whom I felt might help to illuminate their social world. Exploring the links between biography and politics marked a deliberate break with that canon of historical work characterised by the construction of artificial barriers between generally 'famous men' and public events from the private world of home and family.

Inevitably the human element intrudes into historical sociological investigations, just as it does in contemporary research. The researcher's role is one of interpreting 'the past' through a process of interaction between researcher and source. As a woman conducting historical research on other women from a feminist perspective, it is important to be aware of one's value biases and to understand how they influence the research, as Carr (1961) makes clear:

It used to be said that the facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.

Carr, 1961, p.11.

To become involved in feminist analysis is to make a contribution towards the incorporation of women's experiences into the historical record and the use of gender as a universally accepted category of social analysis just like that of class or race.

2.0. The Provision of Mass Schooling.

Historians accounting for the transition from an agrarian economy to one which was urban, industrial and based on waged labour, variously refer to the years 1840-1895 as the 'second phase of industrialisation.' (Hobsbawm, 1983). A legacy of the 'age of capital' (1848-1875) dissolved during the 'age of Empire' (1875-1914), the creation of the London School Board is seen as part and parcel of what Hobsbawm (1988, p.9) refers to as "the triumph and transformation of capitalism in the historically specific forms of bourgeois society in

its liberal version." (3) In order to understand the social context in which the provision of mass schooling in England and Wales was extended, there is a need to acknowledge that this occurred during a period when the middle classes were gradually gaining power and these classes, increasingly involved in legislating for, and administering elementary education, left a profound mark on the system.

According to revisionist historians like Johnson (1970, 1976) and Katz (1976) (4), the provision of mass schooling was related to the problems that the poor posed to the social order. These accounts challenge the method and metaphor upon which orthodox Liberal accounts are based, that is, the altruistic rhetoric of the social welfare and schoolteaching professions. In so doing, they seek to demonstrate that the expansion of schooling was an essentially bureaucratic response to the imperatives of class control. The weight attached to the intentions and policies of male legislators in the Education Department means that such models have a tendency to adopt a 'crude instrumentalism' whereby education is envisaged as a form of social control, perpetuating the status quo.

Whilst there can be little doubt that these male legislators were firm believers in the reformatory capacity of education, it is overly deterministic to leap from an acceptance of this assessment to the adoption of such a conspiratorial explanation for the development of mass schooling. Although such models appear to hold weight at the level of high flown generalizations, their explanatory purchase is undermined by their characteristic tendency to lose sight of the individual. Undoubtedly nineteenth century schools were involved in the transmission

of gender divisions and power relationships designed to inculcate acceptance of the status quo, but it is important not to lose sight of the ramifications of that inherently unquantifiable quality, individual free will. As Johnson himself has acknowledged, it is essential to remain sensitive to the: "moment of self-creation, of the affirmation of belief or of the giving of consent." (Johnson, 1979, p.234.) This is achieved by attaching greater weight to human agency and the notion of resistance, the latter being defined as:

a mode of discourse that rejects traditional explanations of school failure and oppositional behaviour ... redefines the causes and meaning of oppositional behaviour by arguing that it has little to do with deviance and learned helplessness, but a great deal to do with moral and political indignation.

Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985, p.104.

As it encompasses a broader definition of the political than a more traditional conceptualisation which may set parameters on what is defined as political activity, conceptualising the personal as political goes some way towards encapsulating this concern with all forms of behaviour. In reflecting critically on this particular group of women, I have therefore sought to attach due weight to all their actions on particular issues both as a group and as individuals. Focusing upon specific issues, like the shaping of a formal curriculum, enabled me to explore the relative ability of these women to operate as educational policy-makers without overlooking the contribution made by those who, however ineffectually, sought to challenge the majority line.

Despite the inherent limitations of an emphasis upon the imperatives of social control, in terms of the analysis of policy makers such models

usefully accentuate the need to look beyond the idea of evolution and progress to the contribution social policy and social reform can make to the stability of a social system. Whilst it would be too deterministic and simplistic to simply interpret the actions of these women in terms of social or class cultural control, neither can such elements be altogether eliminated from the equation. There are no clearcut explanations and solutions to discover, only contradictions to explore and seek to understand.

To be able to show the possibilities and limitations of educational politics during the school board era it is necessary to locate school boards within the administrative context of central and local government in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Failure to do so would be to set the school board system within an artificial vacuum. Just as the 1870 Act laid the foundations for a public system of education in England and Wales, the establishment of School Boards needs to be seen in the context of the reorganisation of local government during this period which laid the basis for the contemporary structure of central and local governmental administration.

2.1. Mass Schooling and the Development of Government in Britain.

Although the state, in the shape of central government played a conspicuous part in the extension of education during the nineteenth century, one needs to be clear about the fact that school boards were *ad hoc* bodies fully independent from the rest of local administration. (5)

Consequently whilst school boards survived various changes to the framework of local government during the 1880s (6), it is important to note that it was political philosophy and not administrative logic which led to their demise in 1902. (7) Linking the work of the London Board with the development of local government in Britain provides an effective means of accentuating how changes in the broader administrative context were in themselves a response to specific social, economic and political forces for change between 1880 and 1906.

As the thesis will show, the 1880s had a significant impact upon the underlying social, economic and political philosophy shaping the attitudes of middle class Board members towards working class children in school. Such attitudinal changes did not take place in isolation but were a response to certain factors which also had an effect upon the development of government in Britain as a whole. Whilst noting the artificiality of using specific dates as a basis for demarcation, the 1880s are seen as marking a transitional period during the longer term process of industrialisation. This transition involved certain changes in the structure of the economy which were felt to have stimulated a need for greater government intervention in order to preserve or, in the eyes of some contemporary social commentators, restore social order.

2.2 Social, Economic and Political Forces of Change.

In the eyes of those contributing to Victorian periodicals, the 1880s covered the period known as the 'Great Depression.' Nevertheless as

Harris (1972) makes clear, most authorities are now agreed that the 1880s were not so uniformly disastrous as appeared to many of their contemporaries. The most significant effect resulted from the conjunction of high wages for a majority of the working classes with widespread unemployment amongst an unfortunate minority. In the minds of many, the co-existence of rising living standards for some, with rising unemployment for others, served to emphasise contemporary social, political and economic distinctions drawn between those who were regularly and those who were irregularly employed. This was exacerbated by the fact that although the purchasing power of wages was rising, the prolonged depression tended to undermine the capacity of both organised and unorganised workmen to retain their independence whilst unemployed.

Economic factors coincided with a period in which political attention was increasingly focused on 'social questions', and in certain quarters the unemployed themselves were seen as a potentially significant political force. This was especially pertinent in the case of London where, as Briggs (1977, pp 327-331) points out, two facts made London's role in national history more dramatic during the 1880s and 1890s:

First, the changes which were taking place in it were more striking than in any other part of the country. Second, it was acting in politics not merely as a national capital but as a centre of home-produced specifically London discontents.

Briggs, 1977, p.327.

The relative importance of London's position as the seat of government was reflected in the fact that, during the discontent and agitation of the late-1880s, the most important of the London socialist organisations, the Social Democratic Federation, quite deliberately

based its tactics on the theory that the metropolis should lead the country in securing the overthrow of the capitalist state. (Briggs, 1977, p.329)

Before 1880 the workers of London were far less well organised in trade unions than their counterparts in other industrial cities throughout England and Wales. Although some belonged to skilled crafts, many were unskilled labourers working in such areas as road transport, railways and the London docks. This meant that the so-called 'new unionism' of the 1880s, that is the attempt to organise the unskilled workers during the 1880s, inevitably centred on London. This followed a wave of strikes heralded by that of the Bryant and May matchgirls led by Annie Besant in 1887, (who went on to represent Tower Hamlets on the London School Board between 1888 and 1891), and arrived with Will Thorne's successful organization of the London gasworkers and the great London dock strike of 1889, for a minimum rate of 6d an hour.

Moreover because many of the London trades had a high incidence of cyclical unemployment, this made the city's workforce especially vulnerable during periods of prolonged depression. London was therefore a melting pot for the formation of socialist organisations like the Social Democratic Federation which sought to modify the capitalist state by methods ranging from full-scale revolution to reform from within. Consequently with unemployment rising steadily in 1886 and conditions worsening throughout 1887, in the autumn of that year the London unemployed began to hold street marches and meetings in Trafalgar Square. Using the police to maintain social order, the then Conservative

government clamped down hard on signs of unrest but rising tensions culminated in what became known as 'Bloody Sunday' when the horse police, supplemented by troops, charged one such demonstration in Trafalgar Square. In the words of J.W.Mackail, the biographer of William Morris (see Appendix Four):

No one who ever saw it will ever forget the strange and indeed terrible sight of that grey winter day, the vast sombre-coloured crowd, the brief but fiery struggle at the corner of the Strand, and the river of steel and scarlet that moved slowly through the dusky swaying masses when two squadrons of the Life Guards were summoned up from Whitehall.

Mackail, cited in Briggs, 1977, p.329.

Arousing animosities against the propertied and privileged, such organised protest meetings provided socialist groupings with a platform from which to challenge the prevailing political indifference to unemployment, with some claiming to speak on behalf of the unemployed themselves.

As Harris makes clear, the plight of the unemployed was worsened by the attempts of the Local Government Board inspectorate to impose greater uniformity and greater stringency on the administration of Poor Relief. The 1834 Poor Law singled out the male able-bodied labourer as a target of hostility and London poor law administrators moved away from policies that permitted families to continue to live together as independent units to practices that treated each member individually. Hence, as Lees (1990, p.74) points out: "Although the mandate of the poor laws was to relieve the destitute, officials treated people differently according to their gender, age, and family status." The administrative changes which accompanied the adoption of a harsher policy included the establishment

in some areas of deterrent 'test workhouses' for those defined as able-bodied paupers, as well as a movement for the abolition of outdoor relief.

Nevertheless, the beginnings of a new phase of debate in economic thought made it increasingly difficult for politicians and administrators to maintain their indifference to unemployment as a problem of economic theory. Writers outside the orthodox economic school ascribed unemployment to a variety of causes although all expressed concern at the failure of domestic markets to keep pace with the growth of industrial production and all implicitly or explicitly queried the classical doctrine that there could be no general maladjustment between supply and demand. Hence while socialist economists pointed to the exclusion of workers from the profits of mechanization, protectionists singled out the subsidised competition of foreign products and 'single-taxers' accentuated monopolistic restrictions on the use of land. Finally, the 'under-consumptionist' school blamed a top-heavy income structure leading to 'over-saving' and the simultaneous underemployment of labour, land, and capital, and a deficiency of consumer demand. (Harris, 1972, p.10)

Not only did 1880 mark the middle of a process of transition in economic development and a new phase of debate in economic thought, but these two factors were also partly responsible for a simultaneous growth in the share of government spending in Gross National Product. The development of new technologies and scientific knowledge apparently offering new possibilities for social and economic improvement; (like the

establishment of a link between sanitary conditions and health), and the sense of momentum generated by other institutional actions, all contributed to a substantial growth in expenditure by the state. The combined effect of such forces of change was mirrored in intellectual developments among groups like the Fabian Society; (which provided a non-revolutionary approach to reform), which saw a need for increased government activity. The governmental response was to expand both central and local government, the latter also underwent fundamental structural change as it became increasingly involved in central government policy over and above specifically local issues.

As Briggs (1977) has shown, the formation of the London County Council in 1888 needs to be seen against this background of social, economic and political change. With London seen as having taken the lead in attempting to shape national attitudes, politicians of all complexions agreed with the need to reform its administrative structure. It is Briggs' contention that those concerned to initiate reforms did so in the belief that an alternative structure to the Metropolitan Board of Works would provide a constitutional forum through which to mobilise ameliorative social reforms as a means of exercising local social control. As with the construction of school boards, the proponents of reform felt that the re-organisation of local administration would provide an effective medium for increased state intervention through increasingly democratic organs of local accountability.

The overhaul of local government should therefore be seen as taking place in the context of a changing social, economic and political

climate characterised by an increasing recognition of the complexity of the causes of poverty and increased understanding of how the economy functioned. (Thane, 1982, p.11) Such a shift in economic thought gradually undermined the individualist response to the material conditions of the poor, based upon a deeply rooted preference for the promotion of independence and self-help. The prescription offered by the individualist framework was one of hard work, supplemented by meagre statutory provisions for those categorised as the 'deserving' poor. This was a very narrow category for, as Mandler (1990, p.13) points out, 'in Britain all but orphans were deemed to be victims of their own improvidence and in theory entitled only to the most meagre dole administered in a penal workhouse.' For those excluded as 'undeserving' by the administrators of state relief, invariably able-bodied men and their families, the only recourse was likely to have been organised philanthropy and private charity. An abundance of largely female middle class volunteers were only too willing to 'visit' and assess those seeking aid for, as with statutory relief: "Middle class charity rested firmly on the view that only the exercise of individual prudence and industry could guarantee the continued sustenance of the urban population." (Mandler, 1990, p.13)

As the countervailing pressures on the free market principles underpinning this prescriptive response grew, local government re-organisation greatly facilitated reform by providing the machinery with which to supplement self-help, philanthropy and the duty to work, should the elected representatives so desire. The conviction that state action posed a danger to individual freedom, ensured that many considered the

growth of civic power desirable in the belief that it could provide a permanent check on the unwelcome growth of central bureaucracy. In direct contravention to these expectations, the process effected significant extensions in the welfare activities of local municipalities which would provide the model for the significant extensions of the welfare activities of the state at a later date.

Not surprisingly, pamphlets like Mearns's (1883) The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, corroborated by the detailed statistical investigations of Charles Booth, effectively fuelled the growing pessimism regarding the power of the free economy to eventually generate sufficient wealth to sustain all. The question of governing the capital city assumed heightened significance because of the fact that unlike the provincial cities, the city of London lacked an overall agency of local accountability. As the Metropolitan Board of Works was elected by a system of indirect elections it was kept remote from the ordinary elector, those who supported reform argued that a county council would be a forum for the constitutional channelling of discontent. The dissolution of the Metropolitan Board of Works and the formation of the London County Council in 1888, represented the partial response of the then Conservative government to a combination of social, economic and political developments which were placing the effective government of London under pressure. Nevertheless, doubts about the constitutional representation of local interests persisted, as the new county council's power was limited by the continued power of the vestries and the City of London.

The political issues at stake may be seen in the fact that when the administrative unit for London was reorganised in the Unionist Bill of 1899, the then Conservative government introduced a dual system of administration by County Council and metropolitan borough councils which the Bill's critics saw as following a policy of 'divide and rule'. (Briggs, p.342) Underpinning relations between the Education Department and London's school board, the concerns of successive Conservative governments about the relative strength of an alternative political and administrative power base in the nation's capital were crucial to the Board's demise in 1904.

As an administrative unit for education, inner London remained a single-purpose education authority for one hundred and twenty years. During this period, the notion of a single-purpose authority came under fire whenever the issue of London government was raised. The successor of the Board, the education committee of the London County Council, survived intact until the creation of the Inner London Education Authority (the I.L.E.A.) in 1964. The 1963 London Government Act having replaced the County Council with the Greater London Council. (the GLC) As attempts to reorganise London government were renewed at the end of the 1970s, once more the impetus for change came from the Conservative side.

Throughout the ensuing debate, three Conservative governments under the premiership of Margaret Thatcher made continual recourse to accusations of academic under-achievement and derogatory allegations of political intervention by what was termed a high-spending, left-wing authority. Whilst none were entirely unprecedented, the issue of overspending

echoes the plaintive complaints uttered by education inspectors during the Victorian era. As early as 1878, Matthew Arnold drew unfavourable comparisons between the 53s 5d a pupil spent by the London board and the then national average of 35s 3d. Despite mounting an effective campaign against abolition during the demise of the GLC in 1986, when the Conservative inspired re-constitution of the I.L.E.A. gave the electors of inner London their first chance in eighty-six years to vote directly for the members of the education authority, the 1987 Conservative government finally closed this chapter of central organisation on 31 March 1990. According to Maclure:

Abolishing the I.L.E.A. had more to do with paying off political scores and rewarding political friends than seeking the best administrative structure for education in inner London. Time alone can tell how the new arrangements shake down and meet the needs of the capital in the twenty-first century.

Maclure, 1990, p.238.

Having traced the development of government in Britain against the backdrop of social, economic and political change crystallised by the fears aroused by the 'Great Depression' of the 1880s, it should be noted that the cause and effect of unemployment were the subject of both tentative theoretical analysis and detailed empirical investigation. Concern with the social distress of the unemployed not only raised problems of definition and classification with regard to the problem of unemployment itself, but its perceived victims within the working classes themselves. These problems of classification and surveillance not only had implications for the educational legislation of the 1870s but, as the thesis will show, were a contributory factor in shaping the response of members of various London school boards to issues of social

welfare, particularly the underfed and impoverished children passing through their care.

3.1. Mass Schooling and the Classification of the Working Classes.

Social commentators regarded the nineteenth century city as the centre of poverty and misery and the locus of crime, vice, disorder and potential revolution. Given the strength of their faith in the reformatory capacities of education, it may well have been more than mere coincidence that the School Board for London was created under the terms of the Education Act of 1870. The process of urbanisation was one thing:

But more than this: the city destroyed society. 'There is not a town in the world where the distance between the rich and the poor is so great or the barrier between them so difficult to be crossed' wrote a clergyman about Manchester ... The city was a volcano, to whose rumblings the rich and powerful listened with fear, and whose eruptions they dreaded. But for its poor inhabitants it was a stony desert, which they had to make habitable by their own efforts.

Hobsbawm, 1983, p.87.

Specific groups like the criminal and idle were feared not only because of what they themselves represented in terms of crime, disorder and possible revolution, but also because it was felt that they could 'morally pollute' the more respectable elements of society. Contemporary descriptions of deviant groups were coloured by the imagery of the sewer:

Sewage and drains were guiding metaphors for those who depicted the deviants of this time ... 'Foul wretches' and 'moral filth' lay heaped in 'stagnant pools' about the streets, when they moved, they were seen to 'ooze' in a great 'tide'. The population was 'slime'

which gathered in ghettos which were described as 'poisoned wells', 'cankerworms', 'sinks of iniquity', and 'plague-spots'. Their houses were described as 'cess-pits'; and their way of life was a 'moral miasma', for it was essentially a *moral* condition which was captured in these lurid images.

Pearson, 1975, p.18.

Such fears were reflected in the pattern of state intervention up to 1870, with the Industrial Schools Acts of 1857, 1861 and 1866; the Reformatory Schools Acts of 1854, 1857 and 1866; and the Education of Pauper Children Act of 1866, providing the means to educate specific children. Supported by an ideology which saw charity as a means of avoiding potential social revolution, this legislative programme was part and parcel of a package of social reforms reflecting many and competing ideological and political standpoints aimed at 'rescuing' the poor through education and individual reformation. Consequently, nineteenth century England witnessed an unco-ordinated growth of philanthropic, ecclesiastical and state provision, co-existing with the informal educational practices favoured by the working classes themselves. Further legislative intervention was directed towards the creation of an institutional structure providing for the unquantified 'residuum' of working class children uncaptured by this educational net. As Hurt (1979, p.59) so succinctly points out: "one of the main purposes of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was to bring the social and educational outcasts of the nation into the schools."

Thus the 1870 Act repeated the concerns of middle class social investigators with the classification, segregation and surveillance of the poor. Within this remit, it effectively demarcated public elementary schools from other educational institutions according to the scale of

school-fees charged. Hence the former were defined as those in which fees did not exceed 9d a week. Nevertheless, as Board members were to discover, it proved impossible to adopt a rigid separation between education and broader issues of social welfare with the result that many had to modify their stance on such issues as the payment and remission of fees and the provision of penny dinners or free school meals. A central theme linking the various chapters of the thesis is therefore a concern to trace the links between resistance and debate over the term education in its broadest sense, ranging from the shaping of a formal curriculum to the gradual inclusion of issues of social welfare which may have originally appeared to be peripheral to the provision of a basic form of schooling per se.

Then, as now, competing sets of beliefs, perceptions, propositions, values, grievances and aspirations surrounded the term 'schooling', although as Donald (1985, p.225) suggests, it is possible to extrapolate a common thread. The general features were, firstly, a concern to moralize the working class, evident across the political spectrum, and secondly, a belief that such interventions should be subsidised or, increasingly, conducted by agencies of the state. In considering the role played by female members of the London School Board in shaping the education of successive generations of the capital's children, it is essential to trace the links between the attitudes these women held towards the working class consumers of that provision, considered in terms of the interplay between the social divisions of gender and class. A fundamental tension underpinning such a response may well have been the ideological hold exerted by concerns to differentiate between the

so-called 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor stemming from a waning laissez-faire belief in the power of market forces and individual causation to overcome issues of social distress.

This accumulation of information on the condition of the working classes and the rise of social groupings challenging prevailing definitions of the status quo was bound to play a part in shaping the response of educational administrators responsible for providing the working classes with a modicum of schooling. Changes in social and political attitudes towards the working classes both during and after the 1880s were exemplified by the gradual acknowledgement of the fact that unemployment was a problem of poverty rather than a voluntary condition or predictable hazard for which workmen should provide out of their wages. It is important to be aware of changes in middle class attitudes towards the working classes, since the majority of female Board members, like their male colleagues, were themselves members of the middle classes. It is therefore significant to consider the extent to which the attitudes of female Board members smacked of categorisation and definition or moved towards a feeling of social and political empathy with the children entrusted to their care.

Conclusion

Within a socialist feminist analysis, both class and gender are taken to be important factors in society. Accentuating both the gender segmentation of the labour force, and the extent to which ideologies

about the family often assume female dependence on men in households, socialist feminist educational research highlights the need to modify existing accounts of how the economic relations of capitalism are reproduced in each new generation to take account of gender difference. According to Arnot (1981, p.109) the major focuses of socialist feminist educational research have been, first:

the analysis of the historical and contemporary nature of state ideology and provision of women's education, and ... second ... the analysis of the relationship between female education and the 'dual' location of women in the family and the waged labour process.

Arnot, 1981, p.109.

Exploring the problem of class and gender as competing power structures in the development of an English school system, the thesis questions the implication that the responsibility for the development of mass schooling lay with men working within both central and local government. The issue of gender is addressed by investigating both gender relations on the London School Board, and the relationship between contemporary notions of masculinity and femininity and elementary education between 1870 and 1904. The thesis avoids falling into the trap of social determinism by giving due weight to notions of both accommodation and resistance to the operation of class and gender identities.

From this perspective, the growing power of certain women to define a sex-specific education becomes more than a class issue conceptualised in terms of a middle class administration providing schools for working class consumers, rather an exploration of the contradictions involved in the intersection of gender and class in an educational setting. The

thesis considers the contribution the women on the London School Board made to the shaping of the Board school curriculum and the formulation of policy on broader issues, such as the treatment of 'abandoned' and 'neglected' truants in reformatory institutions and welfare provisions for the more impoverished of the working classes. It charts the development of a conceptual analysis of power, authority and control, in which the women are envisaged both as individuals and as a collective group of women affected by the social and cultural dimensions of gender. It argues that some of the less visible dimensions of power operating through collective forces and social arrangements, profoundly affected relationships between Board members and laid the foundations for the pattern of political life in the twentieth century.

ENDNOTES.

1. Archer (1979, p.54) defines a 'state educational system' as a "nationwide and differentiated collection of institutions devoted to formal education, whose overall control and supervision is at least partly governmental, and whose component parts and processes are related to one another."

2. Emanated from the Ladies' Institute, Langham Place in the 1850s, which not only offered the use of a library and a reading room for women in London's West End, but the first feminist periodical of the century, the English Women's Journal, edited by Bessie Parkes. Initiated a series of single-issue campaigning committees to fight educational or sexual or employment battles, founding the first of the women's employment societies, the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, in 1859. Not only was Queen Victoria the Society's patron, but some of the most prominent contemporary feminist activists sat on its committee - Millicent Fawcett, Frances Buss, Jessie Boucherett, Helen Blackburn - whilst Emily Davies, a future member of the London School Board, was busy forming a separate branch in her home town of Gateshead.

3. Hobsbawm uses the terms 'age of capital' and 'age of empire' to reflect major themes in world history during the periods to which they refer, that is, 1848-1875 and 1875-1914. The major theme of the former is the extension of the capitalist economy to the entire world, while the second is seen as: "an era of, in spite of appearance, growing social stability within the zone of developed industrial economies,

which provided the small bodies of men who, with almost contemptuous ease, could conquer and rule over vast empires." (Hobsbawm, 1989, p.9.)

4. A reference to developments in educational historiography away from the Whiggish narratives equating educational reform with notions of social progress, towards a more critical interpretation of the relationship between social change and the social context in which it occurs.

5. Early nineteenth century local government was characterised by a tangle of authorities and agencies, each with different boundaries, qualifications for office, voting procedures and rating powers. In London, the inner square mile, (known as the City), was governed by lord mayor and corporation, while large outer areas were administered by parish councils and vestries, assisted by special commissioners for lighting, paving and drainage, grand juries and petty sessions. This changed after 1855 when the Metropolis Local Management Act created a new sanitary authority, the Metropolitan Board of Works, whose forty-five members were elected by the thirty-nine vestry and district boards.

6. This constitution was changed by the setting up of the London County Council in 1888 - a body of 118 councillors elected by, and responsible to, the ratepayers. Nevertheless, as Briggs (1977, p.333) makes clear, 'the survival of the vestries and the City meant that there was continuing doubt about who spoke in the name of London.' Other Victorian institutions which survived intact were the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the thirty-eight Boards of Guardians, the Burial Boards, the Thames and

Lea Conservancy Board and, of course, the School Board. The tense issue of the relationship between the whole and the parts of London's administration resurfaced in 1899, when the then Conservative government undermined the authority of the London County Council by the creation of twenty-eight new local authorities in the metropolitan boroughs. Reflecting Conservative fears about London's Progressives, (a combination of Liberals, radicals and socialists), the Unionist Bill met the demand of the large vestries by introducing a dual system of government by County Council and a second tier of metropolitan authorities, each with its own mayor and council, as a 'counterweight' to the power exerted by the Progressives on the London County Council. (Briggs, 1977, pp 322-5, 331-4, 341-2.)

7. Under the 1902 Conservative Education Act, not only were school boards abolished and replaced by county and county borough councils, but the voluntary schools became rate-aided. For the first time, county borough councils were allowed to establish rate-aided secondary schools whose form and curriculum were to follow those of the elitist, fee-paying public schools. Since fees were set at £3 per annum, this effectively excluded all save the few, (largely male), children from the working classes who showed 'promise of exceptional capacity' by winning a scholarship. (see Simon, 1980) Deliberately designed to undermine the representation of minority interests allowed for in the Education Act of 1870, this Act ensured divided forms of educational provision were enshrined within the legislative framework responsible for establishing a national state educational system for England and Wales.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Introduction.

Gender and Class in the History of Education.

Victorians made little pretence of hiding the class nature of education. Cecil Reddie, giving evidence to the Bryce Commission in 1894, urged that there should be: "the school for the Briton who will be one of the muscle workers ... the school for the Briton whose work requires knowledge of the modern world ... the school for the Briton who is to be a leader" (cited in Lawson and Silver, 1973). Where girls and women fitted within this schema of things was not so clear cut: issues of gender were subsumed within issues of class.

Among historians of women's education the assumption that the education of working class girls was inseparable from that of working class boys manifested itself in a focus upon the schooling of middle class, rather than working class girls. Whilst the activities of those involved in the demand for, and access to, secondary and higher education have been well documented by historians like Bryant (1979), Kamm (1958, 1965) and McWilliams-Tullberg (1975), there has been little emphasis upon the role of those individual pioneers involved in shaping the education of their working class counterparts. As Hunt quite rightly points out:

Where the education of women is concerned the historiography has tended to fall into two categories, general histories of education and the separate accounts of girls schooling, especially middle-class schooling, for it was in the middle classes that girls and women were placed in separate institutions.

Hunt, 1987, p.xii.

Adopting a historical and sociological approach to the question of gender inequality in schools, therefore, means taking a wider perspective enabling one to question everyday conceptions and common-sense assumptions about gender and schooling. By focusing on historical formation and continuities, alongside moments of transition and transformation, it becomes possible to contextualise theories of gender and class in particular historical settings. Brehony (1984) commented that an historical perspective on co-education has more than an antiquarian interest. The history of girls' and women's education sheds light on the fact that, although conditions have changed considerably, the terms of the debate over gender and schooling are still recognisable.

Focusing upon the differentiation of the formal curriculum around gender during late-Victorian and Edwardian England, the parallels between past and present educational practices are clearly revealed in the work of feminist historians like Anna Davin (1979), Carol Dyhouse (1976, 1977, 1981) and Annemarie Turnbull (1987). Just as substantive work on contemporary schooling processes accentuates a discrepancy between the rhetoric, epitomised by the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act which sought the elimination of sex discrimination in education and training and the positive promotion of equality of opportunity within the law (1), and reality, historical studies effectively demonstrate the same gap. As Turnbull so succinctly points out in relation to the teaching of domestic subjects for girls, despite the growing importance attached to such teaching:-

There was, however, an enormous gulf between the intentions of

those who promoted a sex-differentiated curriculum and aimed to ensure that every 14 year-old girl would be a skilled and resourceful housewife, and their achievements. The teaching was fraught with problems and despite the ambitious claims made for domestic subjects they made little impact on the practical household conditions of the nation. Goals were invariably unrealistic and ignored the material conditions of the majority of the population.

Turnbull, 1987, p.99.

To neglect the long history of the debate over gendered differences in academic ability and performance is to simplify the issue of girls underachievement in schools by negating the possible influence of tradition, custom and prejudice. Purvis (1981a) makes a plea for more detailed historical work within the sociology of education on the grounds that:

Such studies can extend the sociological imagination, provide fruitful data for grounded sociological theory, illuminate the relationship between education and social structure in different historical epochs, help us to understand the origins of the English educational system and reveal some of the continuities and differences between past and present educational practices.

Purvis, 1981a, p.112.

Reflecting contemporary concerns with gender inequalities and the actual educational experience of women at all levels, much of what has been written upon the education of working class girls during this period is more concerned with its content, than with the issue of women's place in its development. Despite recent historical work on women teachers, such as that by Copelman (1985), King (1987), Oram (1987), Purvis (1981b) and Widdowson (1980), focusing on such issues as their relative professional status vis-a-vis male colleagues, trade union activity and class composition, there has been relatively little on the few women involved in educational policy-making in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. It

England. It is, however, important to move beyond the implication that the responsibility for shaping this embryonic system of mass schooling lay with men working within both central and local government.

What little work has been conducted on such women is contained within general histories of Victorian feminism or the suffrage movement, considered in the context of women's work in local government. Since the accent is placed upon the broader struggle for the parliamentary franchise, the contribution of a few prominent women is largely measured in terms of the unique quality of the female contribution, forming an apprenticeship for, and platform from which to secure, full political enfranchisement (Levine, 1987; Liddington and Norris, 1985; Rubinstein, 1986). Nevertheless, it is only by widening the perspective to include an analysis of the role played by such middle class women during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that it becomes possible to see the vital post-1870 period in elementary education with clear eyes.

1.2. Women and Educational Policy-Making in Late Victorian and Edwardian England.

Focusing upon a small group of women who stood for election to the London School Board, the thesis looks towards socialist-feminist frameworks of explanation in order to consider why, at a time when women did not have the parliamentary suffrage, they achieved the successes that they did. A useful base for this analysis has been those accounts

of middle class girls' educational reform which seek to relate the perceptions of those involved to the wider social and political context. Thus Pedersen's (1975) work on the background and careers of middle class public school headmistresses in the mid and late Victorian period (2), shows how, in attempting to gain an independent position on the basis of their special expertise, they assumed what was for women a new social role. Claiming to be guided by an ethic of public service rather than one of private gain, these women elaborated a corresponding set of values to be aspired to by the female offspring of successful business and professional men, who were unable or unwilling to be assimilated to the older, leisured gentle tradition. Pedersen concludes:

The connection between the reforms made in women's secondary and higher education and women's entry into public life needs further investigation, but it seems likely that the public schools which the reforming headmistresses helped create provided one setting in which young women could acquire not only intellectual skills but also values which enabled and encouraged them, when other circumstances were propitious, to attempt public roles previously not within the purlieu of their sex.

Pedersen, 1975, p.162.

Consequently, the perceptions and intentions of these women will be considered firstly, in the context of contemporary debates surrounding the concept of femininity and the 'womanly' role and secondly, in the light of gender relations within the educational field.

The merits of an approach focusing upon gender and class relations may be seen in both Purvis' (1981b) and Copelman's (1985) work on elementary schoolteachers. Thus Purvis accentuates the links between changing perceptions of class and gender during this period, and the views women teachers held of the girls they taught. Copelman develops the argument

by indicating that such changes were a significant factor in moulding the content, methods, and social relations of schooling for working class children. In gender terms, however, other work such as Prochaska's (1980) study of women and philanthropy, detail women's involvement in the sphere of working class education. The most notable of these is Anne-Marie's Turnbull's (1983) historically-based study focusing upon the involvement of middle class Victorian and Edwardian women in the development of a gender-specific curriculum for both working class and middle class school girls.

Although the work of Davin (1978, 1979) and Dyhouse (1976, 1977, 1981) on the content of working class girls' education has been particularly important in emphasising the links between discriminatory practices in schools and the contemporary social and political context, unlike Turnbull, neither addresses herself to women's place in the origins and development of gendered schooling. Focusing upon one ideological thread, that of domesticity, Turnbull traces the relationship between the course of women's role within education and what she perceives to have been the consequences of the doctrine of separate spheres. These involved a sharp polarisation between men and women in their social lives which intensified the homogeneity of same-sex individuals within their appropriate sphere. In this study, Turnbull moves beyond her earlier association of the growth of domestic subjects teaching with a regressive and stultifying notion of womanhood alone (see Davin 1978; Dyhouse, 1976, 1977; Turnbull, 1977), to establish a hitherto unexamined continuum between aspects of the ideologies of both the women's and the domestic subjects movement, (a women-led movement concerned to promote

their sex's traditional activities within the home.) The analysis centres upon her use of the concept 'women's culture' which, following du Bois et al (1980) she defines as women's values, activities and goals as defined and developed by women themselves, as a means of re-conceptualising the relationship between the actions of the two movements. She argues that:

It was indeed the growing power of women to define a sex-specific education, as much as it was the narrow conception of women's capacities held by the men of the Education Department/Board of Education, that allowed domestic subjects to develop such a firm hold within girls' education.

Turnbull, 1983, p.46.

Linking such developments to the assertion of a new model of femininity and the reworkings of domestic ideology, she concludes: "these women were acting in the only way they perceived as possible in order to establish a place for themselves within the existing education system, and thereby increase their own power in society." (Turnbull, 1983, p.46)

By placing the domestic subjects movement within the wider context of women's changing roles, the study highlights the ways in which women's own involvement in the development of gender inequalities in schooling represented a reaction to prevailing conditions of life, first for single, childless women and later for wives/mothers. At the same time, Turnbull manages to achieve a balance between the desire to provide a richer, multi-dimensional picture than one drawn by simply charting women's subordination in education during the specified period, thereby avoiding falling into the trap of masking both social inequality and the complex ambiguities of the historical process. As Ryan so succinctly

points out, "If woman are a force in history, and they make their own history, then we must also face the possibility that females have participated in creating and reproducing the less sanguine aspects of the gender system." (Ryan, 1983, p.167)

Unfortunately, the use of domestic ideology as a central organising thread, results in an analysis which becomes blind to the contradictions of gender and class. Despite acknowledging the links between the shortage of domestic servants and the growth of the domestic curriculum, Turnbull neglects the irony that it was the domestic labour of women from a different social class which enabled these women to negotiate a place for themselves in the public sphere, without having 'one hand tied behind them'. (Mitchell, 1977) Failure to address the question of whose interests were being served by such ideologies, combined with a tendency to ignore the issue of why some women involved in working class education did not actively encourage the growth of the domestic curriculum, results in a consensual picture of this process of curriculum change and development, which glosses over the more conflictual elements.

However, apart from Patricia Hollis' (1987) pioneering study of women's work in English local government between 1870 and 1914, there has been little other work in this area. Highlighting the need to remain sensitive to the fact that these 'ladies elect' were operating within a political environment, subject to the rules and regulations of nineteenth-century local government, the account not only provides a useful framework for analysis, but represents an invaluable analysis of

women as policy-makers, albeit at a local level. Unfortunately, whilst presenting a positive assessment of their contribution vis-a-vis male colleagues, it is one which remains couched in language reminiscent of the notion of separate spheres:-

Within education, women kept the quality questions to the fore. In town after town, men built the buildings, sought grants, awarded contracts, maintained the fabric, and levied budgets. Quite properly they brought their business skills to bear on public service. They seldom talked about children, except in the aggregate. It was women who 'read' the school population as a community of groups with special needs, who persuaded male colleagues to value kindergarten teaching for small children, who protected older girls from over-pressure, who befriended delinquent children and supported handicapped ones.

Hollis, 1987, p.466.

The wealth of detail is thereby lost in Hollis's over-generalised appraisal which overlooks the importance of class and gender divisions. Stemming from an implicit acceptance of the division of male and female labour between the public world of work and the private world of the home, the gender dimension remains effectively buried beneath what comes across as an insider's account of the minutiae of local politics. Moreover, whilst the notion of class is implicit within the account of political affiliation and representation, any coherent exploration of the intersections of gender and class is effectively undermined by the presentation of these 'ladies elect' as representing the interests of all women and children, quite apart from such other disadvantaged groups as the old and sick in mind or body. The result is an analysis artificially restricted by the fact that it is based upon an implicit acceptance, rather than questioning of, the domestic ideology encapsulated within the notion of separate spheres.

1.3 Domestic Ideology.

Female members of the London School Board were not operating in a social vacuum. Consequently, their actions need to be assessed in the light of the fact that relations between the sexes have taken the form of both division and inequality in our society. During the period under discussion, real social and economic changes were accompanied by a changing perception of class and gender, part and parcel of the development of the bourgeois family form. According to Hall (1979), between 1780 and 1820 the Evangelical ideology of domesticity, articulated in religious terms, served to mediate new ideas about the position of women in the family which were understood selectively and adopted in part, thereby providing the framework for the emergence of the Victorian bourgeoisie.

Accentuating the links between industrialisation and the increasing separation of home from work, Davin (1979) and Hall (1980) have shown how the nineteenth century saw the development of the bourgeois family form and its imposition upon the working class through educational institutions. Related to the simultaneous idealisation and repression of women, characteristic of English society, the sexual division of labour was legitimated by a doctrine of separate spheres divided between the private world of home and the public world of work. Hall (1979) contends that the doctrine of separate spheres "effectively obscured class relations, for it came to appear above class, and the cultural definition of the sexual division of labour, since the split between men and women, came to be seen as naturally ordained." (p.31) Though it may

be founded upon a theory of supposed natural divisions, as Arnot (1982) makes clear, "this ideology then successfully hides the fact that gender is a cultural variable and one which is constructed within the context of class and gender power relations." (pp 81-2).

This view is supported by Purvis's (1980, 1981) historical research showing that the identification of femininity with domesticity was not part and parcel of a single undifferentiated ideology. Focusing upon the form and content of women's education, Purvis (1980) identifies two models of femininity as those of the 'perfect wife and mother' appropriate for the middle classes and the 'good woman' relevant for working class women. Despite the disparity between rhetoric and reality, the domestic ideology proved difficult to resist, not least because it locked women into a rigid mould of respectability, if only in terms of trying to live up to an ideal which, as a form of conspicuous consumption, became inextricably related to the realities of economic life. Permeated by the bourgeois ideal of the 'good woman', the domestic curriculum for girls thereby sought to define and contain behaviour into limiting categories and was viewed with favour by those involved with elementary education as a corrective to the 'inadequate' childcare and household management conceptualised as being at the root of the misery of the slums :

The ideal of the 'good woman' may be seen, therefore, as an attempt by the bourgeoisie to solve the various social problems associated with industrialization and urbanization. The 'good woman' was a dilution of the higher-status ideal of the 'perfect wife and mother' and thus it may be interpreted as a form of 'intervention' into working-class family life, an attempt to convert and transmit that part of bourgeois family ideology that insisted that a woman's place was in the home, that she was responsible for the quality of family life and that her domestic skills were more important than,

say, vocational skills that might be used in waged labour. The 'good woman' was, therefore, a form of class cultural control (Johnson, 1976), an attack upon the patterns of working-class motherhood and parenthood as perceived by the middle classes.

Purvis, 1980, p.11.

In emphasising the links between discriminatory practices in schools and the contemporary social and political context it is important not to be overly deterministic by neglecting patterns of resistance and struggle. One of the major shortcomings of domestic ideology as a framework of explanation lies in a tendency for cultural theories of gender to lose sight of the individual in the midst of a concern to identify a common pattern. Overly deterministic analyses that ignore women's struggles may reflect an assumption that gender classifications were unproblematically accepted by those concerned. In focusing upon female educational managers and policy-makers, it will be demonstrated that these women managed to act as effective social agents in spite of the pervasive qualities of domestic ideology. To acknowledge a female presence, makes possible an exploration of the intersections of gender and class within an analytical framework that, as Arnot (1982) contends, both recognises the existence of class and male hegemony within educational institutions and the sometimes difficult relationship that exists between them.

Despite the deterministic qualities of domestic ideology as an explanatory concept, women could and did cross certain boundaries associated with the distinction between the public and the private spheres. It will be argued that critically examining the public/private dichotomy provides a means of exploring the intersections of gender and class without losing sight of the constraints exerted upon women, due to

women's association with ideologies of domesticity, and those stemming from a legislative and political framework created for, and by, men.

1.4 The Public and the Private.

Following Gamarnikow and Purvis (1983, p.5), the public/private dichotomy is used as "a metaphor for the social patterning of gender, a description of sociological practice, and a category grounded in experience." Within this perspective, a critical examination of the public/private dichotomy enables the sociologist to overcome the conceptual shortcomings stemming from an association of the public sphere with 'the social' and the implication that the private sphere enters the social through the family-society relationship alone.

As such the terms of reference may be taken to encompass that socially constructed division between what Dyhouse (1981, p.7) describes as the male world of public events and finance and the private world of the home. As Fildes (1983) indicates, however, it is essential to avoid falling into the trap of simply reinforcing the very stereotypes under investigation. To attribute descriptive and theoretical capacities to the categories may therefore involve an unwitting duplication of an essentially idealised situation. According to Levine:

We must, then, understand the division of masculine public and feminine private not necessarily in terms of consensus or reality but as a social construction, as a means of justifying the relative positions and organization of men and women in society as the best possible arrangement.

Levine, 1987, p.13.

Whilst the distinction serves to highlight the marginalisation of women, it is not seen as offering an explanation for gender divisions between and within the separate spheres. What are of interest here are the justifications, understandings and explanations derived from the distinction, rather than the distinction itself.

Consequently, when using the opposition in writing on women, the following words of caution advanced by Fildes (1983, pp 67-8) should be kept firmly in mind. Firstly, as the notion operated most forcefully at the ideological level, the representations and prescriptions for behaviour contained in the sources for historical analysis should not be accepted as offering descriptions of what people were actually doing. Secondly, there is a need to consider the extent to which the ideals of domesticity affected all women irrespective of marital status or social class. Thirdly, there is a need to provide either specific definitions of the terms and qualify the usage of 'public' and 'private' with the proviso: for whom? Meaning should not be assumed and the writer should be both historically specific and wary about generalizing across class lines, in order to avoid replicating what may be an inherent bourgeois bias in the very notion of a separation of spheres. Finally, the terms should not be used as if they unproblematically confer a uniform set of meanings that are common to all. It is important to stress any inherent contradictions, as in the case of domestic servants whose place of work was another person's home or 'private' sphere, in order to accentuate the essential fluidity, rather than infer a rigidity stemming from a conception of two opposing social structures.

To focus upon the justifications, understandings and explanations derived from the distinction between public and private provides a means of exploring the issue of school board membership in terms of the divide between state and civil society. Election to a school board provided some women with a bridge between the two, at a time when women were specifically excluded from the developing institution of citizenship in late nineteenth and early twentieth century England. Defining it as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (Marshall, 1973, p.84), divides citizenship into three parts, civil, political and social:

The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom - liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude vital contracts, and the right to justice. ... the political element ... the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. The corresponding institutions are parliament and councils of local government. ... the social element ... the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society.

Marshall, 1973, pp 71-2.

Highlighting the essential fluidity and cross-cutting of values between the public and private spheres, Imray and Middleton (1983) make the point that:

Activities in themselves have no absolute and unchanging value, be they economic, political, cultural. Rather, value accrues to activities by virtue of who performs them and more importantly who controls their social meaning and importance ... it is not work *per se* which is valued and which is part of the public sphere, but rather ... work done by *men*.

Imray and Middleton, 1983, p.16.

Describing the nature of gender relations within the House of Commons,

for example, Rodgers' (1981) argues that male members seek to preserve what they perceive to be a male public space by resorting to the deterrent of violence, joking behaviour and exaggerated courtesy. Conceptualised in terms of the boundaries between public and private space, female members of the London School Board clearly crossed one such boundary demarcating a specific area of public space. Their actions provide a framework within which to explore both the degree to which a separation of spheres occurred and the manner in which this was experienced, both individually and collectively, by a specific group of women in late-Victorian and Edwardian England, whilst teasing out the ways in which the distinction worked as an ideology informing social practices in the area of working class education.

1.5 Ideology.

Although a number of themes are presented as central to the concept, such as a general reference to a collection or pattern of ideas, there are no easy and precise definitions to be drawn upon in an area where theories about ideology indicate, rather, a field of continuing argument and debate. Focusing upon contemporary European debates, Donald (1985), identifies two basic positions in the debate, incorporating either a power or a distortion criterion. Referring not so much to an outright opposition, as a spectrum of different emphases about how directly ideologies are connected to power and whether what the individual holds to be true, real or worthy, is always produced by systems of representation and signification. The interpretation of ideologies as

promoting illusions and distortions in order to legitimate power is exemplified by Marx's statement that 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas.' (1977, p.176) Within this explanatory framework, ideologies can be exposed as providing a partial or inadequate representation of social reality, a reality which can, with effort, be objectively portrayed. This debate is especially pertinent to analyses of gender rooted as they are at the level of the individual within the household unit yet at the same time buttressed within the economic, social, legal and political framework.

Using the concept of class and gender relations, the terms of reference will be widened beyond the use of domestic ideology as a conceptual tool in gendered analyses of the school curriculum, to incorporate an analysis of the ways in which it influenced the lives of this small group of upper middle class women involved in the development of working class education. Although domestic ideals have been, and still are, pervasive for many females in our society, they are shot through with contradictions reflecting the issue of class differentiation shaping womens' experiences of both educational life in particular and social life in general, as mediated by family and community. The central theme running through the thesis, then, becomes that of specific ideologies and their relationship to power conceptualised in terms of the relative importance of the power or distortion model of ideology, underpinning a concern with the role such women played in ideological creation and function.

Working within this body of ideas, Beechey (1985) uses this approach as an analytical framework within which to locate various perspectives in the field of debate surrounding what she terms 'familial ideology'. That is, a system of beliefs which:

i)Describe a particular kinship system and set of living arrangements ... and assert that this form of family is universal and normatively desirable, and ii)Assert that the form of sexual division of labour in which the woman is housewife and mother and primarily located within the private world of the family, and the man is breadwinner and primarily located in the 'public' world of paid work, is universal and normatively desirable.

Beechey, 1985, p.99.

Within this framework of ideas, familial ideology is seen as ultimately determined by material social relations. Of greater significance here, however, are the alternative explanations offered as to how this comes about. Thus whereas Wilson focuses upon the relationship between state and welfare policies and women's consciousness, to find a means of defining women's role, Mitchell examines the nature of the links between production, (biological) reproduction, sexuality and socialisation. Although these phenomena are seen to have emerged independently of each other, the ideology of the family imposes a unity and universality on them which is otherwise absent. Such arguments are critical to an exploration of the role of women in the education of working class girls during the specified period as they not only delineate alternative means of defining women's role, but provide the conceptual tools with which to explore the relationship between contemporary conceptions of women's role and the constraints upon the contribution these women were able to make following their entry to the public sphere in their capacity as educational administrators and policy-makers.

Without detracting from the explanatory purchase of analyses about the family, however, historical and cross-cultural work like that of Harris (1985) has shown that the conception of households as 'natural' units varying across different cultures is in itself a partial or inadequate representation of social reality. Harris contends that as ideological distortions they serve to perpetuate notions of domesticity underpinning the sexual division of labour. Buttressed by the institutional framework they thereby facilitate the continuation of women's contradictory - in that it is rarely actually absolute - subjection to men. What needs to be further explored in order to assess whether or not this makes it an ideology, is the extent to which it consists of ideas serving the interests of another social group.

From the perspective of discourse theory, what would be seen as a depiction of the family as a static entity, is replaced by a conception of the family as continually shaped by discourses which are external to it but have become widely diffused throughout society. Highly critical of both Marxist analyses and discourse theory for their respective economic and linguistic reductionism, Riley (1983) teases out the complex relationship between psychology, politics and social policies. Though the emphasis remains upon language, with familial ideology operating through variable relationships between subjective individuals, Riley's approach usefully accentuates the need for an analysis able to include elements of resistance and struggle between individuals.

In exploring the extent to which the discourses of these women infiltrated educational discourse, questions about their relationship to

power or distortion models in the debate surrounding the role of ideology cannot be overlooked. One cannot dismiss the use of ideology on the grounds that it may either distort social relations or has little to say about the process of symbolization. Ultimately, as Connell points out when advocating the use of methods generated in the 'sociology of knowledge' (3):

None of these problems is insoluble. Reductionism can be avoided, not by claims for the autonomy of ideological practice, but by consistently seeing it as practice, ontologically on a par with any other practice and equally involved in the constitution of social interests.

Connell, 1987, p.245.

As members of an elite network of intellectual women living in Victorian London, these women were not passive or indifferent, but significant actors in resisting their exploitation. Within this analysis, gender inequality is seen as resulting from the interaction of autonomous systems of patriarchy and capitalism, wherein the notion of male hegemony becomes central to the process of teasing out the ways in which their public and private lives were shaped by the key variables of gender and class.

1.6. Hegemony

The concept of hegemony refers to the organizing principle or world view diffused through agencies of ideological control and socialization into every area of daily life. In this context the key conceptual tool becomes, rather, that of cultural hegemony used to refer to a whole

range of structures and activities as well as values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that in various ways support the established order and the class interests which dominate it. Williams describes Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony as a socio-political situation:

in his terminology, a 'moment', in which the philosophy and practice of a society fuse or are in equilibrium; an order in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation.

Williams, 1960, p.587.

Working within this framework of ideas, the role of class intellectuals and educational practices forms a crucial component in the struggle for hegemonic control, which has to be won and maintained, since the dominated groups can always produce a '*counter hegemony*' which is truly 'oppositional' and cannot be incorporated into the dominant culture. The contradictory position occupied by this small group of elected women, considered in terms of the intersections of class and gender, will therefore be explored with reference to Gramsci's (1971) categorical distinction between traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals. The former refers to those intellectuals who represent a 'historical continuity, uninterrupted by the most complex and radical changes in social and political forms', whilst the latter refers to those who emerge with the formation of new economic classes. Whilst appearing autonomous both are, in reality, the 'functionaries' of particular classes, defined in terms of ownership or non-ownership of the means of production. Within capitalism, organic intellectuals like the 'industrial technician and the specialist in political economy',

organise the culture and the new legal system of the bourgeoisie, thereby creating new 'organic' ideologies which effectively universalise and depoliticise the bourgeois world view.

One of the major concerns of the thesis, therefore, is an exploration of the public lives of these women, considered in terms of their relative contribution to the process of shaping the embryonic system of elementary education, conceptualised in terms of the dissemination of the particular consciousness of a particular group. That is, whether such actions constitute those of class intellectuals who, by utilising such agencies as the elementary schools, facilitate the process by which the philosophy, culture and morality of the dominant groups becomes the 'official' view of the world, appearing to represent the interests of society at large rather than the consciousness of a particular section or group. A key issue therefore becomes the extent to which contemporary notions of femininity, operationalised through domestic ideologies, helped shape both the womens' commitment to a range of issues and the policy areas in which they worked. The thesis explores the extent to which gender relations shaped the role of women administering elementary education and the function women were able to perform as class intellectuals, legitimating, 'mystifying' and reinforcing the power and prestige of the dominant groups in society. As Connell clearly delineates, when discussing the nature of the relationship between ideologies and interests:

From the perspective of a theory of gender, the question is where and how intellectuals and intellectual work fit into the structure of gender relations. From the perspective of a sociology of intellectuals, the question is how and how far they are constituted as a group by gender relations, and how far the character and

impact of intellectual work is determined by gender dynamics.
Connell, 1987, p.254.

What becomes clear from the conceptual framework developed by Gramsci, in which particular forms of consciousness are developed to the advantage of economically and politically dominant groups, is that it is gender blind. According to Gramsci, every individual is an intellectual insofar as he "participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought." (1971, p.9) Whilst the implicit meaning behind the use of such nomenclature as 'he' may well be generic, the cumulative effect of an emphasis upon ownership of the means of production as a means of differentiating between individuals and groups, means that the gender categories of masculinity and femininity are effectively hidden. Such relationships are likely to be complex but as the social divisions of gender and class are by no means mutually exclusive, it is essential to be sensitive to the possibility that class and gender divisions may work together in particular contexts in such a way as to divide some women from some men. Consequently some women will be placed in the somewhat contradictory position of belonging to the dominant group on the basis of their class origins, whilst belonging to a dominated group by virtue of their gender. The issues raised may be full of ambiguities but, as Runciman makes clear, "where, in particular, there is a discrepancy between the status of a person or group and either their power or their economic class, it is essential to maintain the distinction." (1968, p.58)

The problematic nature of the relations between men and women is clearly brought out by Bourdieu's (1977) distinction between firstly, the division of sexual labour where women, because of their physiology, are the child-bearers and secondly, the sexual division of labour where men and women are responsible for different sets of tasks, be they economic such as agricultural or manufacturing work, or domestic chores, or child-caring and child-rearing tasks. In this context, the use of the concept of patriarchy to refer to male domination of women, which can occur socially, economically, culturally and sexually, serves to distinguish specific sexual forms of oppression from other forms. As Rowbotham (1979) has shown, the trouble with 'patriarchy' is that it:

implies a structure which is fixed, rather than the kaleidoscope of forms within which women and men have encountered one another. It does not carry any notion of how women might act to transform their situation as a sex. Nor does it even convey a sense of how women have resolutely manoeuvred for a better position within the general context of subordination - by shifting for themselves, turning the tables, ruling the roost, wearing the trousers, hen-pecking, gossiping, hustling, or (in the words of a woman I once overheard) just 'going drip, drip at him.' 'Patriarchy' suggests a fatalistic submission which allows no space for the complexities of women's defiance.

Rowbotham, 1979, cited in Macdonald, 1981, p.13.

Rowbotham argues for an historical approach which could reveal not just the changing definitions of patriarchy, of masculinity and femininity, but also the changing form of male control and power. Patriarchy, in her analysis, rather than being universal, becomes historically specific by being related to changes in the socio-economic structure of society.

Working within this framework of explanation, the activities of these women will be considered both in terms of Gramsci's conception of

organic intellectuals, and in relation to Connell's (1987, pp 98-9) conception of the gender order. Defined as a structural inventory referring to both the historically constructed pattern of power relations between men and women and definitions of femininity and masculinity. A key theme running through the thesis will therefore be an exploration of Connell's (1987, pp 255-6) contention that when the activities of organic intellectuals are considered in relation to the gender order they fall broadly into three categories. Firstly, the regulation and management of gender regimes defined as the structural inventory of a particular institution. Secondly, the articulation of fantasies and perspectives characteristic of particular groups in gender relations, and finally the theorization of gender relations. By using this schema, it is possible to categorize the women as a specific group of organic intellectuals in accordance with the following twin classification. The extent to which the group formation is defined by gender (the sexual division of labour) or other structures, and whether the major practice of the group in relation to the gender order is defined as management articulation of ideological interests, or theorization. (Connell, 1987, pp 256-7)

Thus, having accentuated the importance of the concept of ideology in this analysis of women in authoritative positions, the fundamental point at issue remains to what extent such ideologies operate at the level of false consciousness or whether the actions of male patriarchs, buttressed by the socio-economic structure of Victorian England are ultimately responsible. That is, the relative importance of power or distortion for developing an understanding of the role these women were

able to play given contemporary conceptions of masculinity and femininity considered in relation to specific forms of male control and power.

1.7 Power.

Constructing a theoretical framework for a conceptual analysis of power is by no means clearcut. This may be attributable to the fact that the concept can be used to refer to such a vast range of social phenomena that its meaning becomes vague and generalised. More formal and precise definitions become inextricably bound up with particular conceptions of the structure of societies and of the processes of stratification within them. Naturally enough these analyses do not tend to be in agreement over what they regard as power phenomena, the social bases of power phenomena, and the social processes through which power is exerted, although one feature they do share is their highly evaluative character. As a result, Lukes (1974) argues that power is one of those concepts which is ineradicably value-dependent.

Considered in terms of a necessary condition or feature of society, power is neither static nor monolithic, but represents a specific kind of social relationship. While it may be exercised on a number of levels, individual, group or societal, it is important to distinguish between *having* power and *exercising* power. Thus Lukes (1974) differentiates between the underlying concept of power and the way the so-called one-dimensional, two-dimensional and three-dimensional views of power use it

to identify cases of power in the real world. As he puts it:

The absolutely basic common core to, or primitive notion lying behind, all talk of power is the notion that A must in some way affect B. But in applying that primitive (causal) notion to the analysis of social life, something further is needed - namely, the notion that A does so in a non-trivial or significant manner.

Lukes, 1974, p.26.

The significance of the final sentence is the fact that it leaves room for the implication that power has two faces so that, whilst it may be used as an instrument of social cohesion, expressed as antagonism it enables groups or individuals who hold power to secure people's compliance by overcoming or averting their opposition through domination, as exemplified by Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony. As each face exemplifies a differing conception of political activity it is possible to differentiate between alternative views of power according to the relative emphasis placed upon various descriptive and explanatory characteristics, that is, according to the way in which the magnitude, distribution and scope of power in society are explained in terms of such characteristics as resources, skill, motivation or costs. But to do so is not the same as reducing the empirical study of power relations to a simple question of either resource or skills as determined by a particular moral and political perspective. In reality power relationships are never wholly a question of antagonism or of integration and powerful individuals and, as Gramsci (1971) makes clear, groups rarely effect their will by means of explicit instructions alone. They also make use of manipulation in order to win consent, in the sense of attempting to influence the behaviour of others without making explicit the behaviour they want them to perform and may manipulate

situations, agendas etc so that those being manipulated are not aware of this being done at all.

Even though using power in the historical context isn't easy because key evidence may be missing, in focusing upon the various power relations involving the female members of the male dominated London School Board, the central themes will be the visible and less visible dimensions of power. Measuring power in terms of successful decision-making reflects an implicit acceptance of the status quo because power is often hidden and makes issues invisible. As the social divisions of class and gender are related to both the distribution of power and authority in society, and its political institutions and organisations, no two individuals enter a given social situation as equals and hence power is not a generalised capacity, but is locational, situational, relational and non-transferable. Since power can be wielded over people, it involves far more than a capacity to achieve one's wishes through imbalance or obligations incurred in social transactions, or exchange relations involving individuals or groups.

Considering London School Board women as individuals is therefore essential to an analysis of the element of power underpinning gender relations on the Board. Gender relations referring to both the women's relations with each other, and as a group of women affected by the social and cultural dimensions of the term gender, with various male colleagues. In exploring some of the less visible dimensions of power relations operating through collective forces and social arrangements, it should be noted that relations of power function as a social

structure as well as a pattern of constraint on social practice, forming an object of practice as well as a condition. The association of femininity with passivity, introversion, self-sacrifice and dependency, legitimated by biological assumptions and buttressed by the social, legal and political framework, forms the backdrop to an exploration of gender and power relations considering whether the authority the electorate invested in these women was undermined by gender differentiation during the working of the Board.

1.8 Gender, Authority and Cultural Capital

Defined as a form of power which is regarded as legitimate by those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised, there clearly appears to be a certain incompatibility between contemporary conceptions of femininity and the authority associated with membership of the London School Board. Such contradictions stem from the fact that, as Connell expresses it:

If authority is defined as legitimate power, then we can say that the main axis of the power structure of gender is the general connection of authority with masculinity. But this is immediately complicated, and partly contradicted, by a second axis: the denial of authority to some groups of men, or more generally the construction of hierarchies of authority and centrality within the major gender categories. The authority of men is not spread in an even blanket across every department of social life. In some circumstances women have authority; in some others the power of men is diffuse, confused or contested ... There is a 'core' in the power structure of gender, contrasted with the more diffuse or contested patterns of power in the periphery.

Connell, 1987, p.109.

Focusing upon the relationship between gender and authority in the

history of education, feminist historians like Vicinus (1982) and Dyhouse (1987) have drawn attention to the conflicts experienced by several high school and college headmistresses. Emphasising the contradictions experienced by first-generation college-educated women between the old social expectations of marriage and children, and the new opportunities for independence and personal fulfillment, Vicinus clearly shows how such conflicts centred around the question of appropriate leadership, whether by means of reason and authority or emotionalism and personal appeal. Given the concern to throw further light on the issue of women and authority, in this context the case study affords the educational historian the luxury of exploring such findings whilst developing a more informed understanding of specific structures of gender relations within a specific gender regime. Given the centrality of power in this exploration of the role of women in the education of working class girls during the specified period, the present study encompasses the following three areas of concern (Dyhouse' emphases):

first: *the level of women's self-image and behaviour*. The kinds of issues relevant here include the ways in which individual women saw themselves, and how they reconciled their ambitions - personal or social, or their reforming zeal - with their sense of what was fitting, or socially acceptable. Secondly, *the level of public image and public behaviour*. How and why did some women succeed in establishing themselves as authority figures, and what were the problems they encountered in doing so? Related to this is the question of how they were perceived by their contemporaries. Thirdly, there is *the image presented by biographers and in subsequent historiography*. The fact that there is a continuing conflict between dominant social definitions of femininity and authority means that the presentation of strong or authoritative women is particularly likely to be coloured by the value stance of the biographer or historian.

Dyhouse, 1987, p.23.

In considering how and why some women succeed in establishing themselves as authority figures, it is important to note that like the majority of their male colleagues, female Board members shared middle and upper class family backgrounds. In this context, the sharing of a common culture will be seen as crucial source of social integration. A key theme running through the thesis will be Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, defined as:

the cultural goods transmitted by the different family pedagogic actions, whose value qua cultural capital varies with the distance between the cultural arbitrary imposed by the dominant pedagogic action and the cultural arbitrary inculcated by the family pedagogic action within the different groups or classes.

Bourdieu, 1977, p.30.

For Bourdieu, the relationship between family background and patterns of socialization is crucial. Sharing a particular relationship to culture, dominant classes are said to exert 'symbolic violence' over the dominated by legitimating only those cultural forms which are their own. "Master patterns from which, by an 'art of invention' similar to that involved in the writing of music, an infinite number of individual patterns directly applicable to specific situations are generated." (Bourdieu, 1976, p.194) The conversion of the system of power relations inherent in the class structure into the power of symbolic violence adds to and hides the original power of the dominated classes:

Every power to exert symbolic violence, that is every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations.

Bourdieu, 1977, p.4.

Within this framework of ideas, the perpetuation of domination occurs

through the transmission and reproduction of the dominant cultural arbitrary or the selection of cultural categories and meanings which most fully, though always indirectly, express the objective interests (material or symbolic) of the dominant classes. Schooling is seen as a system of communication in which a particular cultural message is created and reproduced. Whilst it is recognised that Bourdieu presents a deterministic and reductionist account of class divisions, giving secondary importance to conflict, resistance and struggle within the cycle of social reproduction, in this context the importance of his work lies in the framework it provides for exploring the role played by middle class women on the London School Board.

As members of the middle classes such women inevitably acquired certain family linguistic and social competences, quite apart from such qualities as style and manners, which effectively set them apart from their working class constituents and the children attending the elementary schools under their care. We should remind ourselves that the actions of these women need to be placed within a specific social and political context whereby they could be perceived as reinforcing the status quo by seeking to reinforce the existing class structure through the use of education as a form of class cultural control. What was being provided was a specific, and limited, form of schooling to the children of another social grouping or class during the traumatic transition from a largely rural-based agrarian economy to one which was urban, industrial and based on waged labour. Whilst this points to the inherent contradictions of gender and class, the value of cultural capital as a conceptual tool lies in the fact that by isolating the concept of

culture alongside the associated notion of cultural unity it provides a conceptual framework within which to explore the relationship between the social inequalities of gender and class and the relative success of certain women in assuming authoritative positions in the public sphere.

The concept of cultural capital also lends itself to the process of tracing the links between biography and history by questioning the taken-for-granted boundary of the political. The analysis of their role will therefore be "challenging not only the apolitical characterization of the private domain but also any claim that the political nature of the public arena can be constituted without reference to the quality of personal relations". (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984, p.102) In focusing upon all aspects of the womens' lives, the study seeks to collapse the over-simplistic dichotomy between the private and public dimension of these women's lives, by producing a more rounded picture than the alternative emphasis upon political machinations in the public realm presented by many 'malestream' studies of administrators and policy-makers.

To this end, the thesis draws upon the work of Stacey and Price (1981) and more specifically the five success factors identified in their study of women, power and politics as an analytical tool by which to draw together the multifarious threads of these women's lives. Taking each in turn, the first common factor identified by Stacey and Price when looking at women who have achieved success in politics was that of having been brought up in political families. Secondly, coming from a middle or upper class background; thirdly, having a higher education and

or professional occupation; fourthly, being able to rely on the resources and support of their families and finally, avoiding or minimizing family commitments. To explore the reasons why women vary among themselves in degree and nature of political participation is to heed the warning provided by Shabad and Andersen (1979, pp 28-9): "to suggest that one should examine more systematically the impact of sex ... should not, at the same time, obscure the strong possibility that sex, in and of itself, is *not* the crucial explanatory variable".

The value of such an emphasis upon the relationship between the personal and public lives of a single group of representative women in the field of English local government, lies in the potential it creates for illuminating many broader issues, while providing the essential specificity for understanding individual differences. In order to sustain a balance between this emphasis upon individual biographies and a sense of the women as an homogenous social grouping, in that all were elected members of the London School Board, the thesis also draws upon the traditions of network analysis rooted in such classic community studies as Young and Wilmott's account of working class kinship networks in East London in the mid-1950s. To focus upon family and community relationships in this way provides a means of examining the process by which such women developed personal networks among like-minded contemporaries and the extent to which they acted as a source of mutual support.

Concluding her analysis of American female moral reformers, Ryan (1983) contends this history is instructive because it suggests women can find

sources of organizational strength at the local level. Formal and national organizational structures can be strengthened and reinforced by connections with the everyday associations and informal networks of local and neighbourhood women. The value of such organizational structures is further underlined by Liddington and Norris's (1985) study of the working class suffrage movement in northern England. Drawing on this tradition, the thesis explores the relationship between female members of the London School Board and other politically active women contributing to their success. In uncovering the role played by a now largely forgotten group of women, it argues that these women provided a necessary power base and source of sustenance upon which female Board members could draw both during election campaigns and subsequent struggles to establish themselves as authority figures in a potentially hostile administrative system.

1.8. Bureaucracy.

Irrespective of potential hostilities stemming from gender and class differentiation, all Board members were tied to the material base by virtue of the financially dependent relationship between the London School Board, an organ of local government, and central government, as constituted by the Education Department. (4) Because the central government fund dispensed by the latter remained the most important source of finance for elementary education in theory, at least, radical local policy initiatives could be steamrollered, since ultimate power lay in the hands of those controlling the purse-strings. (5) Ironically,

although the Victorian Education Department was one of the largest branches of central government, Digby and Searby (1981, p.6) make the point that: "with some notable exceptions, historians have omitted it from consideration in the long (and now surely moribund) debate on the origins of growth in the so-called revolution in government during the Victorian period."

Examining the administrative expertise of female Board members and the power invested in the practices of bureaucratic institutions, as well as the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, raises the question of whether or not the Board was a bureaucracy. This is a moot point, as clearly the Board was not composed of salaried, impersonally appointed employees in a hierarchical relationship to each other. Broadly interpreted to include a consideration of social power in terms of the authority following on from election to public office, the intention is to analyse the relative power possessed by these female administrators and policy-makers.

In Weberian terms, such interpretations extend beyond the boundaries of power per se, to encompass a notion of legitimation incorporated within 'rational-legal authority', resting on a belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elected to authority under such rules to issue commands. (see Weber, 1947) The analysis will therefore turn upon the the role these women were able to play and whether the authority invested in them was in any way undermined by sexual differentiation based upon gender differences during the working of the Board, possibly involving a conflict between what, in Weberian

terminology stressing the importance of followers' beliefs, form two of the ideological bases of legitimacy. That is, the aforementioned rational-legal authority in juxtaposition with the traditional authority invested in male members by the prevailing ideologies in nineteenth century England concerning the social construct of gender.

For Weber, the defining characteristic of rational-legal domination in the modern state is a particular form of bureaucratic administration; one which is rational, efficient and set within a framework of legal authority. Largely concerned with the issue of organizational control, Weber's description of bureaucracy identifies two elements in that control - bureaucratic control and professional control. The former stems from the definitive characteristics of the bureaucratic structure or administering agency itself - in this case the London School Board - in the shape of a clear hierarchy of offices with clearly specified functions. The latter arises from the officials themselves on the basis of their professional expertise, thereby accentuating the role of technical knowledge as a further aspect of the superiority of bureaucratic organization. Consequently, there is a tension between the officials, who are the bureaucrats, but need the elected members who may include both experts and amateurs. Thus he argues:

Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge. This is the feature of it that makes it specifically rational. This consists on the one hand of technical knowledge, which by itself is sufficient to ensure it a position of extraordinary power. But in addition to this bureaucratic organizations, or the holders of power who make use of them, have the tendency to increase their power still further by the knowledge growing out of experience in the service ...

Weber, 1968, p.225.

Of added significance in this context, are the studies in the growth of nineteenth century government by Johnson and Sutherland. (1972) Taken together, the papers trace the process by which earlier, 'classic' patterns of patronage, associated with an aristocratic style of administration, were supplanted by new patterns of appointments, characterised by the notion of the 'expert' in government and the non-expert but professional administrator. Thus Johnson's distinction between the 'expert' politician in pursuit of a cause and the non-expert bureaucrat concerned with the honourable performance of prescribed duties, provides a useful framework within which to conceptualise the role of these 'ladies elect'.

Focusing upon educational administrators after 1870, Sutherland argues that the determination to retain patronage left the Education Department with serious problems in defining professionalism and expertise. To categorise "amiable young gentlemen who had achieved a reasonable degree of academic success" (p.269) as 'specialists', amounts to seeing the education appropriate to a gentleman as an essential qualification for administering and inspecting working class schools:

Examiners' and inspectors' social and academic superiority was thus officially intended to be a leaven, a stimulus to intellectual ambition, a source of enlightenment to such schools and such teachers. But there was little evidence that in practice this was so. The very quality of the examiners' literary pursuits and intellectual concerns seems to have bred detachment from, and boredom with, the life and work of elementary schools.

Sutherland, 1972, p.273.

Not only does this raise the issue of cultural and social authority, it also casts doubt upon Weber's over-consensual depiction of bureaucratic

life which glosses over questions about how power is distributed and who exercises control. Linking in with the debate about the nature of the state in capitalist societies, this raises a whole series of theoretical issues as to whether the state is either a bastion of patriarchy or is itself part of the patriarchy, underlying which are questions surrounding the nature of the law in capitalist democracies and the nature of male dominance.

Since late-Victorian and Edwardian England saw the development of 'the Westminster model' of government (6), the framework of explanation centres upon the area of debate surrounding the question as to how embedded the concept of 'masculinity' was in the structure of Victorian public life. Whilst Weber's notion of legal authority rests upon certain principles of bureaucracy itself, specialization, hierarchy, rules, impersonality, appointed officials, full time officials and career officials, the dictates of 'rationalization' do not supersede the workings of the social inequalities of gender and class. Exploring the contradictory relationship between the two through the eyes of female Board members, it is important to recognise that both class and gender, or capitalist versus patriarchal ideologies, may wield both rational-legal and traditional forms of power.

The relevance of just such an historical study to the contemporary debate over the gender of bureaucracy receives ample verification in the form of Hester Eisensteins' conclusion to her reflections on feminism and the state, albeit in an Australian context:

I think it is inaccurate to say that 'the state is male', but it is

accurate to say that 'up to now the state has been male', if by that we mean that until recently public power has been wielded largely by men and in the interest of men (and indeed only by a small number of them).

Eisenstein, 1985, p.115.

Emphasising the need for a feminist theory of the state, Eisenstein (1985) argues that claims about the 'neutrality' of bureaucratic forms of control ignore the ways in which the 'rationality' and 'objectivity' of bureaucracy in the Weberian sense are connected to both the capacity for rational argument and the use of logic encouraged and cultivated in male children. However, while she points out that the capacity for logic is not 'male' but is a human quality, she fails to highlight the fact that bureaucracies themselves are not rational as they are not necessarily the most efficient organisational form and may be dysfunctional in certain circumstances. Moreover, the element of choice within any organisational structure means that bureaucracy is not necessarily a unitary concept. Irrespective of whether one supports the contention of feminists like Ferguson (1984) that bureaucracies conceal a fundamentally masculine world view, there is a certain incompatibility between the 'neutrality' characterising the operation of administrative structures like the London School Board and prevailing expectations of gender.

Nevertheless, in arguing for the value of this kind of study as a contribution to the understanding of female participation in bureaucratic structures like the London School Board it is important to point out its limitations. Unfortunately the emphasis on class and gender differentiation leaves little time for considering the

implications following on from what others have called a 'woman-centred perspective', wherein it is implicitly acknowledged that:

Most women possess or acquire what Jean Baker Miller termed the 'two-sided strengths' that derive from conditioning into the female role ... The capacity to nurture, to act co-operatively within families and to be emotionally literate are, on the one hand, qualities that women have been virtually forced to develop as a result of a subordinate social role imposed upon them. On the other, these are deeply human qualities and their loss is indeed threatened if they have been relegated to women and if women now cross the boundary from private to public life in massive numbers.
Eisenstein, 1985, p.107.

1.9. Conclusion

Using socialist feminist frameworks of explanation, the thesis explores the role these women played in establishing an elementary educational system that contributed to the social reproduction of a waged and domestic workforce differentiated by the social divisions of class and gender. As part of the capitalist and patriarchal state, the London School Board was one of a whole range of structures and activities as well as values, attitudes and beliefs that in various ways supported the established order and the dominant class and male interests in late-Victorian and Edwardian society. The presence of female Board members, albeit middle class women, accentuates the fact that the power of these dominant interests is never total nor secure and must be continually struggled for, won, and maintained.

With the ideological importance of the notion of separate spheres forming the backdrop to a consideration of the role played by female policy-makers and administrators on the Board, the notion of cultural capital becomes crucial to an analysis of these women's entry to the public sphere and their achievements in it. Considering the social bases of power phenomena in terms of the sharing of a common culture, the thesis considers both the level of women's self-image and behaviour and the level of public image and public behaviour. Moving towards an understanding of their achievements, the intersection of gender and class become crucial components in an analysis of female authority figures operating within a bureaucratic structure characteristic of the upper middle class, male hegemony, shaping the development of working class education.

Recognising the possibility of fluidity and change, the thesis will show the diversity of gender stereotypes extending across both different class cultures and across the divide of family and school. Taking its central organising theme as the extent to which gender differentiation permeated public life, the study collapses the over-simplistic dichotomy between the private and public dimension in order to draw together the multifarious threads of these women's lives. It will be argued that the nuances of the position adopted by female policy-makers and administrators on the London School Board can only be fully understood in the context of just such an analysis of the relationship between private life, social networks and careers in public life. To this end, Chapter Two examines the links between formal and national organizational structures and the everyday associations and informal

social networks of the metropolitan women's movement. It will be argued that such networking activities provided female Board members with much-needed support at an emotional, intellectual and political level.

ENDNOTES

1. At a policy level, the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) represents a specific construction of the meaning of unlawful discrimination against both women and men. Within this legislative framework there are two kinds of sex discrimination. One, direct sex discrimination, arises where a person treats someone - in any circumstances relevant for the purposes of the Act - less favourably than another on the grounds of sex. The other, indirect sex discrimination, consists of treatment which may be described as being equal in a formal sense as between the sexes but discriminatory in its effect on one sex. Those parts of the Act relating to education are not only concerned with discrimination by a particular establishment or local education authority in carrying out its general statutory function, but the general duty of local education authorities to ensure that their facilities are provided without any sex discrimination.

2. 'Public Schools' were distinguished first in that they were not the private property of individuals and were not conducted primarily for private gain. The work done in them was scrutinised by publicly recognised authorities and contemporaries pointed to their liberal and advanced curriculum, & 'public spirit' they were said to foster. (Pederson, 1975, pp 135-162.)

3. Concerned with the relation between knowledge and a social base, in much sociology of knowledge this relation is understood causally. Hence an early practitioner, Karl Mannheim (1893-1947), spent much effort showing that

forms of belief or knowledge could not all be explained by the economy or the class structure.(Abercrombie et al, 1986, pp 144, 237.)

4. Usually called the Education Department, (its full title was the Education Committee of the Privy Council Office), and founded in 1839. Having power of the purse as well as the right of inspection and approval, it was the most powerful state agency concerned with education and in 1899 was amalgamated to form the Board of Education.

5. On 17 August 1833 the Commons voted £20,000 to aid voluntary societies to build 'School Houses for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain'. In 1839 the grant was raised to £30,000 and its administration placed in the hands of the Education Committee with James Kay Shuttleworth as Secretary. Expenditure began to soar as grants were extended from limited capital grants for building to equipment (1843), teacher training (1846), and capitation grants for the actual running of schools (1853). Following the Newcastle Commission, Robert Lowe as Vice-President of the Committee enforced from 1862 a system of payment by results and cut back on teacher training to try to stem the sharply rising expenditure of the 1850s.(Simon, 1981, p.165; Sanderson, 1985, p.19.)

6. The Westminster Model, a pattern of government in Britain that evolved between 1870 and 1914, amidst a general belief that the system prevailing at that time was close to perfection. Key feature being the Cabinet which both governed the country and sat in, led, was maintained, criticized and

influenced by the House of Commons. Power lay in the interaction of the Commons and the Cabinet, though during this period the balance between the Cabinet and the House of Commons steadily altered in favour of the executive. Factors of change included the move towards a mass electorate and a change in the political philosophy of the electorate, which gradually began to expect more from the political machine. Resulted in an increase in the government's role (epitomised by state intervention in the field of education) which required a more complex administration to fulfil these demands.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE - THE FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the links between private life, social networks and careers in public life by focusing upon the biographies of women members of the London School Board. In examining the overlap between female membership and the social, intellectual and political circles to which the women belonged, it considers the extent to which this high degree of social and political homogeneity provided the women with much-needed support at an emotional, intellectual and political level.

Providing a richer, multi-dimensional picture than one drawn by simply reinforcing the very stereotypes under investigation, I will argue that comprehending the way in which London School Board women adjusted to the demands of public and private life is integral to understanding their achievements.

Women entering the public arena face both "a historically constructed pattern of power relations between men and women and definitions of masculinity and femininity" (Matthews, cited in Connell, 1987, pp 98-9), and the ideologies which sustain it. Then, as now, some of the difficulties for women drawn into the public domain sprang from a certain incompatibility between 'feminine' conduct and what is required of people in public life. As female Board members were among the first women in England to hold elected office, the way in which they managed

the tensions of public work and personal identity is of more than antiquarian interest for anyone seeking an informed understanding of why so little has changed in terms of the continued under-representation of women in the political arena. (1)

This emphasis upon patriarchal systems of social relations is counter-balanced by considering the factors that distinguished female Board members from others of their class and gender. Taking this issue as its central organising thread, the chapter falls into three parts. Setting the context for an analysis of the women's venture into the public domain, the first section examines the role and status of women in late-nineteenth century England, while the second refers to the emergence of the metropolitan women's movement as a distinct and political movement in the 1850s. The final section considers the motives and self-images of female Board members in the light of the feminist ideas disseminated by the Langham Place circle, the London-based group to which so many of them belonged. (2)

Though the broad umbrella of feminism encompasses the belief that women suffer injustice because of their gender, differing analyses of the causes of female oppression result in different feminist agendas for change. Not all the London School Board women saw themselves as working for the emancipation of their gender, or as advocates of women's rights. Such views reflect both political affinities and personal prioritising of different aspects of social and economic change. Focusing upon the collective social, political and economic motivations for an equal rights notion of feminism, the women's self-images are considered in

terms of the extent to which they saw themselves as challenging the entire social and economic order or trying to establish a place for themselves within the existing status quo in individualist and egalitarian terms. The emphasis is upon developing an understanding of the women, both as individuals and as members of a distinct network providing much-needed support at an emotional, intellectual and political level. Given the inequalities, lack of power and resources for control shaping many women's lives, the experience of women on the London School Board helped create new confidence in the competence of women, whatever an individuals personal agenda.

SECTION ONE

2.2.The Role and Status of Women in Late-Nineteenth Century England.

The idealisation of the mid-Victorian bourgeois family form was inextricably bound up with the rise of industrial capitalism and the marked expansion of the highly skilled, relatively privileged, increasingly influential middle classes. Middle class men and women acquired different gender identities, which were: "constantly being tested challenged and reworked both in imagination and in the encounters of daily life." (Davidoff and Hall, 1987, p.450) As the changing requirements of the economy brought about the increased separation of the family from public power and the increased privatisation of women, the religious revivalism of the period both clarified and strengthened a

conception of women's 'special' traits which were often earned at the expense of a more rounded existence.

What saved middle class women from being viewed as little more than objects of conspicuous consumption, was the fact that:

they were granted a role in spiritual life which at one and the same time both empowered and confined them. They were empowered in that moral education became their prescribed duty in the family context, but confined in that they were thus restricted to the family responsibility it entailed.

Levine, 1987, p.12.

Excluded from the professions and likely to be trained solely in the care of households, conventional expectations of women were represented by an idealised view of women's 'nature' and mission. Underpinned by social and religious beliefs, medical and scientific practice, women's 'special' traits were felt to include: benevolence, compassion, humility, modesty, morality, patience, sensitivity and tact; being attentive, deductive, gentle, instinctive, intuitive, mild, perceptive, practical and religious.

However the public/private dichotomy should not necessarily be seen in terms of consensus or reality, but as a metaphor for the social patterning of gender. (see Gamarnikow and Purvis, 1983, p.5) Of greater significance is the way in which this social construction of reality operated as an ideology, making existing patterns of gender relations appear natural and immutable. As gender inequality reflects the interaction of autonomous systems of patriarchy and capitalism, the notion of male hegemony becomes central to the process of exploring the

tensions of gender and class within the public and private lives of female Board members.

2.3 The Social Patterning of Gender

The conventional wisdom encapsulated by the public/private dichotomy was that men were to be active in the world as citizens and entrepreneurs, whilst women were to be dependent wives and mothers. Amongst the middle and upper classes, girls were largely educated for the marriage market, learning such 'essential' accomplishments as piano playing and embroidery. The low status 'alternative' to a marital career was assimilation into the ranks of those 'redundant' single women featured in the writings of 'concerned' social commentators like the failed industrialist W.E.Greg. (See Appendix Four) One of the proposals put forward by Greg and other likeminded individuals was that these 'surplus' women should emigrate to America, where there were far fewer European women than men. What was completely ignored was the possibility that some women may not have wanted to marry, but to find an alternative social role. To late-twentieth century eyes, such a feeling is readily understandable in view of the fact that whilst all women were politically disenfranchised, in the eyes of the common law a married woman not only had:

no right to enter contracts or own any property (including her earnings), but she had no rights over her children, whose guardianship passed from her husband to her nearest male relative at his death ... an adulterous wife lost all rights to maintenance and was liable to be abandoned on the basis of a judicial separation; an adulterous husband suffered no penalty, could pursue a wife who left him on account of his infidelity and sue her

harbourers, and if he abandoned her, could be made to provide support only on the basis of a court order establishing her need.
Taylor, 1983, p.35.

Once married life under these conditions became a reality, many women made the uncomfortable discovery that not only was the domestic sphere isolated and trivialised, it also did not offer the supportive cocoon it promised. (see Davidoff and Hall, 1987)

Thus the existence of middle class women was riven with contradictions stemming from the language of gender and class. These contradictions reflected the fact that the Christian religion both recognised women's spiritual quality and yet defended their social and sexual subordination. Whilst struggling to reconcile religious tensions, middle class women also had to come to terms with the prevailing Victorian belief that a person's dignity was bound up with his or her paid work. As some women were keenly aware, the removal of production from the home into the factory, the increasing wealth of the middle classes enabling them to hire servants to perform manual tasks within the home, and their idealised position as ladies of leisure, effectively deprived them of any steady occupation from which to derive a sense of personal value and self-worth.

On the one hand, though their class applauded self-assertion, a limited feminine ideal encouraged selflessness, and portrayed women as 'dependent' and 'fragile' creatures. On the other hand, although middle class women were expected to manage the efficient organisation of the household, any manual work was done by working class women in the form

of paid employment. Thus middle class women who contributed directly to the family enterprise throughout their lives, were unlikely to receive any public, or indeed, economic recognition for such work. (see Davidoff and Hall, 1987)

Amidst a climate of legal reform in an increasingly rationalistic and secular society, some middle class women found the social organisation of their lives increasingly anachronistic. As Strachey (1988) makes clear, for middle class women there was one very uncomfortable consequence of living in a society in which women were ideally seen as the wives, mothers or daughters of some man:

A girl could go on being somebody's daughter only so long as her father was alive, and after that, if she had not succeeded in becoming somebody's wife, she was adrift. Without money or the possibility of earning for herself, she was reduced to being dependent on her male relatives ... With the laws of inheritance as they were, the single woman nearly always had narrow means; and her life was passed in trying to be as little in the way as could be managed.

Strachey, 1988, p.17.

Nevertheless, as the conditions of daily life changed, women's sphere widened. Although the economy and core institutions remained heavily masculinised, women did gain access to parts of the male world. Aside from the significance of their contribution in preparing the way for successors, the women who took the opportunity afforded them in the 1870 Act displayed all of what Harrison (1987) regards as the best qualities of British feminism namely, seriousness, dedication, rationality and self-abnegation. Not only did Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett break new ground by becoming the first women elected to an English public

body, but all the women who served on the London School Board were engaged in activities previously considered socially taboo.

The participation of women in local educational politics indicates the underlying tensions over the notion of women's mission during this period. Increasingly dissatisfied with conventional views of women's nature and mission, some women made a bid for independence based upon a purely pragmatic assessment of their situation. United in their determination to expose and express the inequalities, the lack of power and resources for control over their own lives, they precipitated a debate over the so-called 'woman question'. (see Strachey, 1988, p.87) This resulted in the emergence of an alternative set of equal rights ideas by a small, but significantly vocal minority of women, expressing a distinctive philosophy reflecting a strong, positive sense of female identity.

SECTION TWO

2.4. The Mid-Nineteenth Century Metropolitan Women's Movement.

Given the links between female Board members and the campaigning tradition of the mid-nineteenth century metropolitan women's movement, I believe the public career of these women can only be fully understood in the context of their organizational connections. Emanating from the formal committee established to collect petitions for the Married Women's Property Bill in 1856, Levine (1987) has shown how:

The early Langham Place circle of feminists not only initiated a series of campaigning committees and the first feminist periodical of the century, but offered the use of a library and a reading room for women in London's West End. Debating societies and social clubs exclusively for women followed, providing women with a physical space of their own, an important consideration in an age when so many women lived in the houses of husbands or fathers or brothers.

Levine, 1987, p.15.

Firm believers in the power of association and of propaganda, the activities of these women provided the catalyst for several decades of equal rights campaigning for the extension of the suffrage, the improvement of marriage property laws, women's right of access to education and the professions, greater employment opportunities and greater participation by women in public life and government.

Although not all these equal rights campaigners were middle class, most of the Langham Place women fit somewhere between the aristocracy and the respectable working class. (see Worzola, 1982, pp 302-3) The size of family fortunes varied, but as the daughters of professional men or businessmen the background of the majority of members lay between the two extremes of Frances Power Cobbe's ancestral home near Dublin, and the St Albans grocery shop owned by Sarah Lewin's father. Regardless of the size of respective family fortunes, all the women resented the fact that as females their own personal circumstances depended upon the liberality of male relatives, whether fathers, husbands or brothers.

As middle class women sharing the dominant liberal values articulated by their male counterparts, the women based their campaign for equity on

the newly assertive values of rationalism and democracy. The campaign to reform the legal position of married women, involving the establishment of a press, centre for publicity, lines of communication, and winning of influential allies, through meetings, petitions, articles and lobbying, typified this approach. Recognising that gender relations were structured by property forms as well as direct ideological imperatives, the women advanced typical nineteenth century laissez-faire arguments to secure the abolition of interventionist and irrational legislation which discriminated against those very women who, according to the conventional wisdom, had fulfilled all expectations by getting married.

Though the women only achieved a measure of success with the 1870 Married Women's Property Act, which enabled married women to keep possession of their own earnings, it is important not to under-estimate the psychological impact the Act had upon women involved in what must have all too often appeared a thankless task. Based upon the belief that individual women should be as free as men to determine their social, political and educational roles; and that laws, traditions and activities inhibiting equal rights and opportunities should be abolished, the feminist programme advanced by the Langham Place circle sought to communicate their conviction that women's inferior position was culturally, not naturally, determined. In so doing they effectively ensured that the rights of women were included within the process of legal reform associated with the demise of a traditional society dominated by a landed aristocracy, and linked with the rise to power of the expanding middle classes.

2.5 The Idea of Women's Citizenship

Firm believers that the citizen rights of the new social order should be extended to women, when other circumstances were propitious, these women enabled and encouraged both they and succeeding generations of like-minded women to attempt public roles previously not within the purview of their sex. Escalating the feminist campaign for inclusion within the developing institution of citizenship in late-nineteenth century England, sitting on a school board provided some women with a bridge between the state and civil society. In holding public office many of the London School Board women saw themselves as demonstrating all the middle class virtues of independence, self-improvement, self-discipline, and public spirit. As Elizabeth Garrett (member of the School Board for London, henceforth just MSBL, 1870-3) recalled, before living with her sister in London she was:

a young woman living at home with nothing to do in what authors call 'comfortable circumstances.' But I was wicked enough not to be comfortable. I was full of energy and vigour and of the discontent which goes with unemployed activities ... Everything seemed wrong to me.

Manton, 1965, p.44.

The discovery that they were not alone in feeling this way, in tandem with the recognition of their common disabilities stemming from their similar social position, provided a sense of solidarity and self-worth. For the most active women members of the metropolitan women's movement, participation in various campaigns not only broadened their own horizons, it enabled them to broaden the horizons of other women by preparing the way for successors to follow. Gaining a sense of positive

identification with one another in the context of a political struggle, feminists not only 'attempted to improve the lives of others, they also served themselves.' (Worzola, 1982, p.162)

Though the women who met at Langham Place may not have seen it as such, their campaign was fraught by an inherent contradiction. While they wanted the freedom as individuals to enter the public domain, at the same time and for other women, they accepted the place of women in the family and the gender roles and the division of labour that went with it. Levine (1987) makes the valuable point that the very leisure of which the women complained, (stemming from their well-assured middle class backgrounds), secured them the opportunity to develop a wholesale feminist analysis. Middle class feminists could hardly reiterate the heartfelt words of Hannah Mitchell, working class socialist and suffragette who could not afford to employ domestic servants, and say: "I feel my greatest enemy has been the cooking stove - a sort of tyrant who has kept me in subjection." (1977, p.240)

As the emphasis upon useful work in the pages of their organ The Englishwoman's Journal reveals, the Langham Place circle firmly upheld the dignity of paid employment. While they themselves were distanced from the realities of having to perform heavy manual work, attention was directed towards the shortage of suitable employment for impoverished gentlewomen left without a male protector, though Journal contributors did not exempt other women from the need to work. (Worzola, 1982, p.145) Accentuating the link between mental health and useful work, work was seen as therapeutic and women who had no steady occupation depicted as

frivolous parasites. Elizabeth Garrett's younger sister, Millicent, claimed her feminism was fuelled by a conversation she overheard between two clergymen's wives. Asked what items sold best at charity bazaars, one of the wives replied, "Oh! things that are really useful, such as butterflies for the hair." (Fawcett, 1924, p.117)

For the wealthy and leisured woman who did not need to work to support herself, feminist activity helped overcome a sense of resentment at the waste and frustration produced by traditional views of women. Members of the metropolitan women's movement countered earlier arguments stressing the links between women's moral and emotional qualities, and their seclusion in the home and away from the corrupting features of public life, by arguing that these qualities were evident in all women. "Thus they argued that while they were important within the home, womanly qualities were not derived from domesticity and would continue to be exercised by women in whatever capacity they chose." (Caine, 1982, p.546) While the presence of women on school boards also challenged the central public-private divide, in the sense that it involved middle class women's entry to the political sphere, it was into a field which could be portrayed as a logical extension of women's traditional role as the selfless nurturer of the young.

As unpaid elected officials, women's presence on school boards could also be seen as an extension of that philanthropic work in which so many were already engaged. As Ross (1990, p.164) has shown, London was the hub of English charity in late Victorian and Edwardian England, with nearly a thousand private charitable agencies based there at the turn of

the century. Aside from the fact that London may have contained atypical numbers of middle class females with the necessary time and money to get involved in official philanthropy, legitimised by social thought concepts like the notion of the 'residuum' (see Introduction, pp 27-8), the charitable impulse may well have helped assuage middle-class guilt.

Since the belief in the dominant liberal values of hard work and public duty they shared with their male counterparts was antithetical to idealised notions of 'feminine' behaviour, many female Board members chose to stress the moral aspects of the service they were offering the women and children of another social class. Feminist periodicals like the Englishwoman's Review (henceforth just EWR) were keen to present the religious and domestic skills of women as ideally suited to the moral reformation thought to be the best remedy for indigence. Linked with the fact that education was presented as the universal panacea, Board work provided an obvious outlet for the wealthy and leisured woman's self-expression. During the lifetime of the London School Board, local government in general came to be typically represented as an extension of women's 'natural' duties:

We may be asked to assume why the responsibility of trying to maintain a healthier municipal life is particularly a woman's duty? ... First, because the material, domestic concerns of life, so largely controlled by municipal management, are particularly the woman's province as a housekeeper ... Secondly, because the temperance and uprightness of the young, the moral elevation and education of the community, the amenities and harmonies of life, are her peculiar responsibility, and if she neglects them, and shuts herself up in selfish indifference or thoughtless ignorance, our national character must steadily deteriorate. ... women are less under political influences than men ... less affected by class interests.

EWR, 15/10/1886, pp 339-40.

While the issue of class interest forms a central organising thread for the entire thesis, (dealt with at greater length in chapters focusing upon women's work on the Board), it is important to emphasise that London School Board women were setting forth an ideal for imitation in public life. Even though expansion in the field of educational administration enabled some to extend their influence, this needs to be countered by considering Vicinus' (1985, p.5) paradoxical proviso that such "women did not reject the Victorian myths but reinterpreted them."

SECTION THREE.

2.6. Women Members of the London School Board.

This section explores the connections between active involvement in public life and the significance of social background and social networks. First emphasising the importance of leisure and independent income, it then examines the links between the feminism of the London School Board women and the socio-economic conditions necessary for putting their ideas into practice.

As class and gender relations were in a state of flux in nineteenth century England, the existence of generational differences between female Board members holds added significance. Social and legal reforms, like the opening of higher education to women and the 1882 Married Women's Property Act, meant the opportunities available to late-Victorian middle class women were far from negligible. By attempting

public roles previously not within the purview of their sex, the presence of women on the Board underlined the differential status of women caused by mental rather than material change. Accentuating the psychological impact of participation in the feminist struggle Holcombe (1977, p.27) asserts the significance of the 1882 Married Woman's Property Act lay in the fact that "as feminists always claimed, emancipation was not only a matter of fact but also, and perhaps above all, a state of mind."

To accentuate generational differences, following Banks (1986, pp 4-5), the cohort or generation has been based on year of birth. Only three cohorts have been designated as none of the sixteen women whose dates of birth I knew represent Banks' fourth cohort, what she defines as the last generation of 'first-wave' feminism, in order to distinguish it from the modern women's movement. Consisting of all those born before 1828, cohort one was the smallest group in that it included only Rosamond Davenport Hill (1825-1902) and Elizabeth Surr (born 1825/6). Those in the second cohort were born between 1828 and 1848, including Emily Davies (1830-1921), Helen Taylor (1831-1907), Jane Chessar (1835-80), Elizabeth Garrett (1836-1917), Julia Augusta Webster (1837-94), Edith Simcox (1841-1901), Alice Garrett (born 1842) and Annie Besant (1847-1933). Cohort three were born between 1849 and 1871 and included Florence Fenwick Miller (1854-1935), Mary Bridges-Adams (1854-1939), Margaret Dilke (born 1857), Hilda Miall-Smith (born 1861), Maude Lawrence (1864-1933) and Susan Lawrence (1871-1947). Though it may be that Eugenie Dibdin (married in 1882), Constance Elder (married in 1898, board school manager since 1887), Edith Glover (died 1943), Ruth Homan

(married in 1873, parents married in 1845), Honnor Morten and Henrietta Muller (graduated from Girton in 1877) also fell into this cohort.

While I have only been able to discover when sixteen of the twenty-nine female Board members were born, when those for whom it is possible to make a reasonable guess are added to cohort three, this emerges as the largest group. Since women born before 1828 would have been at least forty-two in November 1870, the date of the first elections for the London School Board, this is hardly surprising. Quite apart from the values that enabled and encouraged women to seek entry to the public sphere, unlike Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Elizabeth Surr; (first elected in 1879 and 1876 respectively), few women in their fifties would enjoy the robust health so often cited as an essential qualification for school board membership. (see Bateson, 1895, p.49) Distinguishing between female Board members on the basis of generation and age at time of election, is therefore an essential component to any exploration of the process by which female Board members acquired a new set of political codes, language and behaviour.

Despite the significance of the changing social, economic and political context into which the various cohorts were born, as Levine (1987, p.159) makes clear, it is important not to render "women passive objects on whom reforms and emancipations were visited rather than as autonomous and active agents of that change." To avoid the trap of distortion, the social and political homogeneity of the second cohort will be illustrated by reference to those networks that articulated a consciousness of commonality amongst five of the eight women. Not only

did Elizabeth and Alice Garrett, Emily Davies and Julia Webster, belong to the Langham Place circle of liberal feminists, Emily, Elizabeth and Helen Taylor were fellow members of the Kensington Society. (3) In addition, another of Elizabeth's successors in Marylebone aside from her sister Alice, also belonged to the Ladies' Institute, Langham Place. Alice Westlake's date of birth is unknown, but her father was Thomas Hare, friend of John Stuart Mill; (Helen Taylor's step-father), and President of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage (EWR, 15/9/76, p.414)

This reference to the connection between Thomas Hare and the suffrage campaign, raises the issue of female Board members and their relationships to male supporters. Focusing upon men who lent encouragement and support, it is significant to note that many of the women from the second cohort who joined the Ladies' Institute also had links with the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, founded by John Llewellyn Davies, the brother of Emily Davies in 1857. The latter was an organised forum for debate on contemporary social issues which not only admitted but welcomed women to membership. It provided a sympathetic platform from which women like Rosamond Davenport-Hill from the first cohort, could not only gain self-confidence but develop and disseminate their ideas. The object of scorn and derision to newspapers and the general public, Punch never referred to it by any other name than 'The Universal Palaver Society.'

The women of Langham Place seldom attacked men of their own class (see Worzola, 1982, p.404), though at least one prospective Board member had

an open disagreement with Emily Davies over the issue of mixed committees. Thus Helen Taylor and John Stuart Mill argued that the executive committees of the various suffrage societies should consist entirely of women: "they thought it would be most undesirable to create the impression that women were incapable of managing important matters without the assistance of men." (Kamm, 1977, p.162) Characteristically, both Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett had their school board election campaigns managed by men. In Emily's case by Mr Tidman, a friend of John Stuart Mill who was also the uncle of one of her students at Hitchin, in Elizabeth's by James Skelton Anderson her future husband.

Henrietta Muller, assumed to belong to the third cohort of London School Board women, may well have been more sympathetic towards Helen's position. An insight into Henrietta's feelings on the issue of working relationships with men may be gaged by reference to her correspondence with Karl Pearson after she decided to leave the Men and Women's Club of which he was the founder-member:

I am very sorry to have left the club - but it has become worse than useless to me. I hope to start a rival club for discussing the same class of subjects, but no men will be admitted - you will say "this is prejudice" I will not stop to deny it. I will merely say that in my club every woman shall find a voice, and shall learn how to use it; it matters not in the first instance what her opinion may be, it does matter very much that she should learn to express it freely and fearlessly ...

Karl Pearson from Henrietta Muller, 29/3/1888, Karl Pearson Papers.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise the fact that the generation of London School Board women to which Henrietta belonged may well have been influenced in the way in which they saw themselves by those very campaigns for equal rights involving women like Emily Davies and

Elizabeth Garrett from cohort two. In order to gain further insight into the extent to which this was the case, the social background of female Board members will be considered using Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, in terms of the family linguistic and social competences, quite apart from such qualities as style and manners, which effectively set these women apart from both their working class constituents and others of their class and gender.

2.7 Social Background

Just how important it was for wealth to coalesce with specific familial gender regimes, is illustrated by reference to the group biographies of the Garrett sisters. Though their mother, a strict Evangelical sabbatarian sought to undermine Elizabeth's aim of becoming a doctor, their self-made father always aimed to do his best for his daughters. Not only did Newson (see Appendix Four) finance Elizabeth through her medical training and provide additional financial support during her first year in practice, but when Alice opposed his wishes and married Herbert Cowell, (a young barrister at the Indian bar), insisted on giving her the return fare to India as he was sure she would come back when she saw him. (Manton, 1965, p.134) Aside from Elizabeth and Alice, their sisters Agnes, Louisa, Millicent and cousin Rhoda all belonged to the Ladies' Institute. Millicent going on to preside over the leading Edwardian non-militant suffrage organization, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

In relation to the issue of financial support, it is worth noting that women's entry to local politics coincided with the emergence of a new social grouping, a class of *rentiers*, who lived on the profits and savings of the previous two or three generations. According to Hobsbawm (1983, p.119), almost all of the 170,000 'persons of rank and property' without visible occupation in England in 1871 were women. He therefore concludes that stocks and shares, including shares in family firms formed into 'private companies' for this purpose, were a convenient way of providing for female relatives who could not - and no longer needed to be - associated with the management of property and enterprise. In the context of this thesis the era of railway, iron and foreign investment is not only seen as providing the economic base for the Victorian aesthete but more specifically for those Victorian spinsters welcomed to the comfortable avenues of Kensington, the home of the first women's suffrage society.

Whatever their source, there were clear differences between female members in terms of the financial resources they could command. The extent of such variation may be illustrated by reference to the fact that whereas Elizabeth Garrett incurred no financial hardship in donating a hundred pounds to meet her election expenses, Emily Davies informed Adelaide Manning that the responsibility for hers had been assumed by Mr Tidman, who had invited her to stand. Nine years later Florence Fenwick Miller only ran for a second term because Helen Taylor arranged a meeting with William Ellis, (a world renowned figure in educational circles), who offered a hundred pounds to help fund her campaign. It may well be that the required sum grew to match available

resources, for in 1899 Honnor Morten (MSBL 1897-1902) calculated £200 was the average amount, though Rosamond Davenport-Hill spent between £1,400 and £1,500 on three elections in the 1880s. (Morten, 1899, pp 61-2; Metcalfe, 1904, p.117) That some of the women experienced serious financial difficulties in funding their election campaigns is underlined by the fact that Mary Bridges Adams (MSBL 1897-1904) felt compelled to ask for the assistance and support of fellow socialists through the pages of the Labour Leader, edited by Keir Hardie, the leader of the Independent Labour Party.

Whilst class membership concealed a wide variation in individual income, it could also mask disparities in social status. Not only did the fifth and youngest daughter of the first Lord Lawrence of the Punjab, first Chairman of the Board, win a seat on the final Board, so did the former pupil-teacher Mary Bridges-Adams. The importance attached to displays of conspicuous consumption as a means of demonstrating social status, may be illustrated by reference to the unwilling behaviour of Susan Lawrence. Reminiscing about his former colleagues "frequent arrival on the Embankment in an ostentatious carriage and pair", Thomas Gautrey (n.d., p.79) recalled: "She told me recently she much disliked this display, but was pressed into it by relatives."

Despite differences in their socio-economic conditions, all the women possessed sufficient income to fulfil their duties at the Board. Of those who did not possess an independent income, all had the necessary educational background to be independent and self-supporting. On leaving Edinburgh in 1851, Jane Chessar (MSBL 1873-6) attended the Home and

Colonial Teacher Training College, which later employed her as an 'organising governess' in the training of teachers for national schools. Forced to resign due to ill-health in 1866, she continued to give lectures and tuition, besides successfully preparing girls for the senior Cambridge examinations and teaching special subjects at Frances Buss's North London Collegiate and Camden Schools for Girls. By the time of her election to the Board, she was not only a well-known writer on scientific subjects, but a figure of some repute within the educational world. Able to command a salary equal to that of any comparable male, this member of the second generational cohort of London School Board women set an example for other duly qualified women to follow, since she was "almost the first to make teaching a good, dignified, and fairly well-paid profession for women". (EWR, 15/10/1874, pp 8-9; The Athenaeum, 18/9/80, p.370).

During the 1870s Florence Fenwick Miller (MSBL 1876-82), medically trained suffrage lecturer, contributed a weekly column to the Illustrated London News, edited the Woman's Signal and ran a dispensary for women and children. Above and beyond the fact that it was their educational background that enabled Jane and Florence to be self-supporting and serve on the Board at all, the education they received effectively distinguished them from the majority of other women of their social class. Regardless of generational cohort, on the basis of those women for whom detailed information is available, it would appear the majority of female Board members did not receive the trivial education given others of their sex and class. Their self-confidence thus appeared to derive, in part, from the sharing of a common culture.

2.8. Educational Background and Marital Status

Educational background is of crucial importance to the women on the Board. Of the twenty-seven women elected after the first women completed their undergraduate studies at Girton and Newnham, Henrietta Muller (MSBL 1879-85) and Constance Elder (MSBL 1897-1900) were former Girtonians, while Susan Lawrence (MSBL 1900-4) took the mathematics tripos at Newnham. Not surprisingly, all these women fell into the third cohort as did all the other female Board members known to have benefitted from the campaign for equal access to higher education for women. Thus Hilda Miall-Smith (MSBL 1900-4) was an ex-pupil at the North London Collegiate and one of the first women graduates to receive her B.A. from London University in 1882. Mary Bridges-Adams and Maude Lawrence supplemented their education at Bedford College, while Helen Taylor (MSBL 1876-85) was trained by her feminist mother Harriet, the future wife of John Stuart Mill who:

gave the girl few, if any, organized lessons; but Helen, conscientious and methodical, had the run of her mother's library and, beginning at one end of a bookshelf, ploughed straight through to the end, sometimes understanding what she read often not ... but it was a major part of her mother's system that her pupil should be encouraged to think for herself, to tackle different concepts which she could not fully grasp.

Kamm, 1977, p.114.

Mary Richardson (MSBL 1879-85), shared a practice at the Inns of Court with the first woman solicitor, while Honnor Morten (MSBL 1897-1902) took a more conventional route to independence by training as a nurse.

Of the other women, Emma Maitland (represented Marylebone 1888-91, Chelsea 1894-1904) and Ruth Homan (MSBL 1891-1904) took lessons in artisan scullery and cooking at the South Kensington School of Cookery. Emma apparently doing so in the belief that "too much care cannot be taken in the proper cleaning of pots and pans." (Dolman, 1896) Both women went on to serve as probationers at St Bartholomew's Hospital, of which Ruth's father was the Treasurer from 1874-92. (see Smalley, 1909) Indeed Ruth later conducted classes of Board school teachers, becoming Vice-President of the Pupil-Teachers Association. (Argus Guide to Metropolitan London, 1903, p.130)

Aside from differences in social origins and educational qualifications, across and between generational cohorts, it is possible to differentiate between the women in terms of their marital status. As thirteen of the twenty-nine were independent single women they were atypical in the sense that they did not share a common experience in women's lives, marriage and family. Of the remaining sixteen only six were married for the whole of their period in office, four married while serving, four were widows, one was widowed while serving and another, Annie Besant (MSBL 1888-91) was legally separated. In terms of the generational analysis, it is impossible to ascertain to how many of the third cohort shared Henrietta Muller's ideas about the "sex relation" as:

the key to the dominion of men and the subjection of women: until we see our way very clearly, and not as now very dimly, to the complete equality of man and woman in this respect, every woman who desires the freedom of her sex, is bound to sacrifice love. This supreme heresy is at last beginning to be received by a few. They have stood out against it for years, and now they begin to understand that only by our struggle for freedom, and against love, can we secure to the women of the future the possibility to enjoy

both love and liberty.

Karl Pearson from Henrietta Muller, 5/2/1887, Karl Pearson Papers.

Opinions differed regarding the significance of marital status to the candidature of women for the Board. The Times greeted the announcement of Elizabeth Garrett's engagement to James Skelton Anderson in 1871 by querying whether she ought to resign her seat on marriage "since a conflict might arise between the right of the husband and the duties of a wife." (7/1/1871) Though Ruth Homan felt that all things being equal, she should be inclined to give preference to "married women, because there are many matters which the mistresses and parents would more readily confide to a married rather than an unmarried lady." (Bateson, 1895, p.48)

On the basis of such evidence it becomes apparent that certain factors were crucial determinants in shaping the type of women who sat on the Board, including a desire to be politically active and to engage in community service. Having considered the perceptions and intentions of London School Board women in the context of contemporary debates surrounding the concept of femininity and the 'womanly' role, election to the Board opened up possibilities for women in the public domain. To what extent gender relations impinged upon this is a subject for the next chapter.

Drawing together the multifarious strands of these women's lives by using the five success factors identified by Stacey and Price (1981) in their study of late-twentieth century women, power and politics, taking each in turn, the first common factor was that of having been brought up

in politically active families. Of the twenty-nine female Board members, ten women shared such an upbringing. In the case of the Garrett sisters they were following in the footsteps of their elder sister Louisa, who moved to London and joined the Langham Place circle after her marriage. Indeed it was Louisa's home that provided Elizabeth with a base whilst coming to a decision as to whether to try and become England's first home-trained woman doctor. For Emily Davies the influential figure was her brother John, who gave up a Cambridge Fellowship to become an unpaid curate in Limehouse. As Rector of the large and very poor parish of Christ Church, Marylebone, he earned a reputation as a fashionable London preacher raising money for charity.

Rosamond Davenport-Hill's father and uncles were all active social reformers, while Ruth Homan's father was Sydney Waterlow, who contested four elections for the Liberals, having successes in Dumfries and Maidstone. Co-founder of the printing house of Waterlow and Sons, Sydney was Alderman, Sheriff and Lord Mayor of London, an active supporter of the Women's Educational Union and chairman of the 'Improved Industrial Dwellings Company'; (building 1,047 tenements in seven years at a profit of 5%). Significantly Waterlow's friends included four male Board members, namely, Sir Edmund Hay Currie, Samuel Morley, Professor Huxley and the Reverend William Rogers. Indeed his biographer, Smalley (1909, p.262) records that during the latter years of his life he took "the very liveliest interest ... in discussing the question of education with his eldest daughter, Mrs Frank Homan." Aside from her father, Ruth's brother David became a County Councillor and Liberal MP, as did a brother of Mary Richardson. Two of Hilda Miall-Smith's uncles were

members of Parliament, one preceding his parliamentary career with a period on the Board. Margaret Mary Dilke (MSBL 1888-91) was the widow of Ashton Dilke, MP, while Helen Taylor was the step-daughter of J.S. Mill, MP, who presented the first suffrage petition to Parliament.

While coming from a politically articulate family obviously facilitated the process of learning how to 'work' the existing political machinery, this should not be allowed to detract from the fact that all the women had links with voluntary organizations themselves. Annie Besant (MSBL 1888-91) entered public life after fundamental religious doubts led to her joining the lecture circuit of the National Secular Society, becoming politically active in the Fabian Society and Social Democratic Federation, prior to her conversion to theosophy, emigration to India and work for Indian independence in her capacity as President of the Theosophical Society. Those like Edith Simcox (MSBL 1879-82) and Mary Bridges Adams who did not reach such esoteric heights, but shared the same socialist credentials, came up through the ranks of the trade union movement. Simcox ran a co-operative shirtmaking business employing women and in 1875 she became one of six woman delegates to represent the Women's Society of Shirt, Collar and Underlinen Makers at the Trades Union Congress. (EWR, 15/10/1878, pp 465-9)

I now move on to the second factor identified by Stacey and Price (1981), that of coming from a middle or upper class background. Not only did all the London School Board women fall into this category, but the importance of the third factor of higher education has also been shown. As Stacey and Price bracket education with professional occupation, even

though in late-Victorian England this required an attempt to breach male exclusiveness, two of the women did. Elizabeth Garrett is the most well-known example, but Mary Richardson shared a practice at the Inns of Court with Eliza Orme, England's first woman solicitor. Like Elizabeth, Honnor Morten and Florence Fenwick Miller had medical backgrounds. While Honnor trained as a hospital nurse, Florence graduated with Honours from the Ladies Medical College and took up practical work at the British Lying-In Hospital. (EWR, 15/12/76, p.548) Of the women with professional backgrounds, Susan Lawrence, Honnor Morten and Mrs Frank Wright (MSBL 1893-4) were the daughters of solicitors, while Eugenie Dibdin (MSBL 1897-1900) and Alice Westlake were married to them. Four women, Maude Lawrence, Julia Webster (MSBL 1879-82, 1885-88), Florence Fenwick Miller and Frances Hastings came from a service background. Julia's father was a Vice-Admiral, while Frances was the daughter of an army baronet.

The fourth and fifth success factors identified by Stacey and Price (1981) are the ability to rely on the resources and support of their families and avoiding or minimising family commitments. Both were of crucial importance to their predecessors on the Board, as the fact that fifteen of the twenty-nine were single shows. Although three female Board members were married while serving, Mary Bridges Adams was widowed while serving, and Ruth Homan and Emma Knox Maitland were widows when elected. At least one of the women who was married for the whole of her time in office, Alice Westlake (MSBL 1876-88), was childless. Elizabeth Surr and Eugenie Dibdin (MSBL 1897-1900) had grown up children, but it was their daughters who helped in the work of the Board. It is, however, significant to note the following judgement of Annie Besant, who had

already lost the custody of her children at the time of her election in 1888:

Annie Besant's capacity for gruelling hours of work has been due to the fact that she was sublimating the vitality which other women gave to their homes, their children, society. She had trained herself to work as an escape from the thwarted circumstances of her life - her childhood without parents and home, her girlhood without sweethearts, her marriage without love, her motherhood without her children.

Williams, n.d., p.115.

Even though the success factors identified by Stacey and Price were of significance, it is important to avoid the implication that entry to the public domain was all plain sailing for the women who sat on the London School Board. Such factors could not protect them from prevailing social pressures regarding the conflict between traditional duties and public work. Drawing upon the women's letters and biographical writings, it is possible to sketch a more rounded picture of the conflicts these women faced between conventionally feminine desires and the desire to work in the field of public educational administration.

2.9 Personal Conflicts.

With reference to the marriages of two of the four women married while serving, Elizabeth Garrett and Florence Fenwick Miller married men who supported their efforts to combine successful careers and election to public office with marriage and motherhood. Despite contemporary strictures regarding the ingredients for conjugal bliss it is interesting to note that Elizabeth did more public work in the year of her marriage than ever before. (Manton, 1965, p.221)

Family background and social class were equally significant to Elizabeth's break with prevailing social conventions embodying a specific image of womanhood and the ideal home. The financial and emotional support of her father clearly deviating from the conventional image of the Victorian patriarch. Both before and after marriage and motherhood, her public work was facilitated by her ability to employ other women of a differing social class to fulfil her domestic responsibilities. By the time her eldest child was born in July 1873, the domestic servants employed to sustain the Garrett Anderson household included a cook, one housemaid, three general maids, a wet nurse and a nanny. Fortunately for her, as her biographer points out:

One decision which a professional woman now has to make was, of course, spared her. The unquestioned custom of her class and time was a nursery life for children in the care of a nanny. No one suggested that a lady, however leisured, should take sole charge of her own children.

Manton, 1965, p.234.

Consequently one of the contradictions characterising the concept of domestic ideology was the fact that middle class women were not only not assumed to be responsible for the duties of practical childcare, but could also afford to purchase the labour of others as a means of escaping the burden of domestic duties.

However much such women were able to organise their lives so as to facilitate their public work, they still suffered considerable personal anguish due to the pervasiveness of conventional associations between domesticity and womanhood. Having announced her engagement, Elizabeth found herself tormented by doubts arising from the habit of putting work

and duty first. "Lying awake at night, she felt she would almost die of the sense of guilt if she found herself after two or three years of marriage, out of the medical field." (Elizabeth Garrett to Skelton Anderson, 31/12/1870) Torn between her duty to other women and that owed her fiancée, Elizabeth avoided having to compromise her feminist principles by insisting that both her earnings - in the form of patients fees - and her capital be legally secured to her. The Andersons shared their considerable joint income by means of a common purse, to which each contributed and from which each could draw for current expenses. (Manton, 1965, p.215) The mention of duty is significant here since it reflects the way in which nineteenth century feminists both adopted, and allowed themselves to be motivated by, the passionate middle class belief in the morally redeeming power of work.

For single women fortunate enough to be in a position to make such a choice, voluntary work provided an invaluable means of catering for their emotional needs once marriage and family had been ruled out. According to the biographer of the longest serving woman member, Rosamond Davenport-Hill, Rosamond herself early dismissed all chance of marriage on the basis of her appearance:

when talking over plans for the future with her governess one day, she said with quiet determination: 'I shall never marry. No-one would care for such an ugly girl as I am, except for her money.' So, before she was twenty she resolutely put aside all expectations of inspiring a love that was worthy of her, and mapped out plans and aspirations for a life in which marriage took no part.

Metcalfe, 1904, pp 16-17.

Accounts such as these provide a valuable illustration of the ways in which both single women of this generation, and their friends and

relatives (such as Metcalfe), effectively altered the negative connotations of 'redundancy', by creating new models for women's public roles. Having taken the positive decision for herself that marriage was not to be, Davenport-Hill achieved personal fulfilment through a lifetime of public service, drawing upon the valuable experience of having been her father's companion, during which time she "shared his thoughts, joined in the conversation of his friends and profited by their society." (Metcalfe, 1904, p.16)

Nevertheless, given the fact that women were denied access to existing channels of political influence, it is hardly surprising to find their public roles were supported by the networking activities of other women. Women entering the field of educational administration were in a somewhat contradictory position. While many emphasised women's special qualities, by collapsing the public-private divide, they simultaneously rejected its categories.

2.10 Support Networks.

Polling day for the first triennial elections of the School Board for London saw the triumphant return of two friends, Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett as members for the divisions of Greenwich and Marylebone. In fact, Elizabeth Garrett actually received more votes - forty seven thousand, eight hundred and fifty eight - than any other candidate in London. This victory meant far more than just another achievement in the careers of two well-known and remarkable women, it

was also a tribute to the hard work and dedication of countless lesser known women who laboured behind the scenes in order to secure the necessary support for their illustrious proteges. As Manton makes clear, Elizabeth Garrett was in no doubt that she owed much of her success to the skill with which her campaign had been managed, as she herself acknowledged when: "On 2 and 3 December she sat down to write 136 letters of thanks to volunteer workers in the Marylebone division." (Manton, 1965, p.208)

Both candidates were single women leading full and demanding lives that severely restricted the time left available for electioneering. Deeply involved in her efforts to establish a college for women at Hitchin, Emily Davies only accepted the invitation to stand for Greenwich in the face of some persuasive arguments from Mr Tidman, (the uncle of one of her students), respecting the elector's desire to return a woman and his willingness to assume full-time responsibility for organising her campaign. She gratefully acknowledges his considerate management of her campaign by open references to her lack of committee work, while facing the demands of public meetings with stoicism. Similarly, it was only a matter of months since Elizabeth had achieved her ambition of becoming a doctor, having graduated as the first woman M.D. of the Sorbonne. Her days were filled by the private practice based at her home in Upper Berkeley Street as well as the Dispensary for Women and Children she had opened in Marylebone four years earlier.

Although they did not have to perform manual household duties, Elizabeth Garrett and Emily Davies were undoubtedly extremely busy women when they

consented to run for election to the school board. Consequently they were both considerably reliant upon the organisational abilities of their respective electoral committees. Contemporaries attributed Elizabeth Garrett's astonishing success to "thorough organisation and indefatigable exertion, as well as the high personal qualifications of the lady candidate." (EWR, January 1871, p.1) The fact that all the electoral committees had male chairmen, not only reflected prevailing social mores but the non-sectarian approach of Langham Place women like Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett both of whom wanted feminists to work closely with men. Though this principle was established at the cost of antagonising a fellow member of the Kensington Society and future female Board member, Helen Taylor, who opposed the establishment of mixed suffrage committees.

A cursory glance through the list of names composing Miss Garrett's committee for the School Board for London, Marylebone division, is sufficient to show that males outnumber the female members by about two to one. Focusing upon the role played by specifically female networks within the political sphere and the way in which they spilled over into both intellectual and social areas of their lives, it is significant to note the presence of so many now largely unknown women in the company of such outstanding individuals as Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, Octavia Hill, Frances Mary Buss and Maria Grey. (see Appendix Three) As members of the Ladies' Institute these women were 'old hands', not only having initiated a series of campaigning committees during the 1850s and onwards, but also responsible for the first feminist periodical of the century. Nurtured by the numerous Debating Societies and Social Clubs

exclusively for women, women created a lifestyle for themselves that was more than a form of organised political activism. As Vicinus (1985) has so clearly shown in her study of two generations of middle class, independent women, (those largely born in the 1840s and 1850s and a second generation born in the 1870s and 1880s), none of the public gains achieved by the former, would have been possible without the support of other single women:

For this early generation the tradition of female self-sacrifice was transformed into sacrifice for the betterment of women, for a community of sisters. A network of women's organisations and institutions supported each single woman entering the newly developing professions for women.

Vicinus, 1985, p.30.

Moreover, far from disappearing from the scene altogether when the election was over, many of these other women became deeply involved in school board work, both as school managers and as members of local divisional committees dealing with issues of non-attendance and the remission of fees.

Alice Westlake, one of the members of Miss Garrett's committee, was herself destined to represent the division of Marylebone as a member of the third Board. Married to the Board's solicitor, (himself an unsuccessful candidate in 1873), Alice Westlake, like Jane Chessar and Alice Cowell (Elizabeth Garrett's sister) before her, reaped the benefits of the well organised and hard working committee of supporters established by the Garrett feminist circle. Although she did not stand for re-election, Elizabeth Garrett remained active in the Marylebone division, offering other women both organisational support as well as

sharing their platforms. In fact, as a member of the London School Board Election Committee throughout the 1880s, she did not restrict her activities to the confines of her old division but also came to the rescue of female candidates in other divisions whose campaigns were foundering.

Rosamond Davenport-Hill was persuaded to stand for election by Alice Westlake and Helen Taylor but chose the unlikely seat of the City where there were no women voters. Recognising the need to mobilise organisational support, Elizabeth stepped in and quickly assembled a committee of MPs and QCs. Rosamond, a suffragist and campaigner for educational and criminal law reform, went on to become the longest serving woman member and never missed a single Board meeting in thirteen years. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to convey the impression that Elizabeth Garrett was the only woman member to play such a role. It was, in fact, rather like membership of a select and exclusive club in which serving members interacted with former and potential future colleagues. Irrespective of personal politics, recognition of the demanding and demoralising nature of Board work was tempered by a belief in its necessity as a means by which to demonstrate women's untapped potential as public administrators.

Despite the fact that ill-health prevented Jane Chessar from seeking re-election, Jane went on to persuade Mary Richardson to stand in 1879. Yet another member of the Garrett circle, Mary recalled the debt she owed the friend who, not only coached her in preparation for the election, but "was the only person who ever taught me anything of

business." (Bateson, 1895, p.104) Similarly Helen Taylor forged the alliance with Fulham working men that helped Julia Augusta Webster, (given the strength of the other Liberal candidates and Taylor's commitment to working class politics), to come head of the poll in Chelsea.

I now return to the subject of Elizabeth Garrett's original election committee. Though the majority of other women did not go on to serve as members, this acted as a pool from which Elizabeth Garrett recruited both female managers of schools in Marylebone and women to serve on the divisional committee. (4) It can be no coincidence that three of the four divisions to appoint female members of the latter, had female candidates at the first triennial election, namely, Chelsea, Greenwich and Marylebone. One of the women appointed to Chelsea divisional committee was Emily Shirreff, sister of Maria Grey, the defeated candidate herself. (SBL Mins, 10/1/72, p.37) At Marylebone the Board not only authorised the appointment of Mrs Hughlings Jackson, the wife of one of the honorary male consultant physicians at Elizabeth Garrett's dispensary for women and children, but those of two other women married to men in the medical profession. One of the more prominent was Ghetal Burdon Sanderson (1832-1909), elder daughter of the Reverend Ridley Haim Herschell, whose brother became chancellor of the University of London and whose husband, John, was an eminent physician at the Middlesex Hospital between 1860 and 1870, when Elizabeth Garrett was gaining her practical experience there in the guise of a nurse. Serving on the committee until 1883 when the family moved to Oxford, Ghetal also acted as treasurer for the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young

Servants, founded in 1876, providing help and support for young servant girls. (known colloquially as Mind and Behave Yourself!) (Women's Penny Paper, henceforward just WPP, 6/12/90, p.100)

Two sets of organizational connections were crucial to the Board. Firstly, the influence of the Langham Place group that permeated female Board members throughout the lifetime of the Board, as the service of women like Alice Westlake, Margaret Eve (MSBL 1891-1904); whose sister-in-law belonged to the Central National Association for Women's Suffrage (WPP, 28/6/90, p.429), and Emma Maitland (M.S.B.L.1888-91, 1894-1904), one of Elizabeth Garrett's most ardent supporters in 1870, reveals. Secondly, the links between charity and educational work. These were far from unusual since many of the women serving as school board managers and members of the divisional committees were active in both fields.

Throughout the lifetime of the Board numerous members of the Charity Organisation Society (henceforward just COS) (5), may be identified as serving on the divisional committees and were no doubt influential in framing their response to calls for the remission of fees. In Marylebone, such appointments included that of the aforementioned Octavia Hill. While in Chelsea the now largely forgotten Mary Anne Donkin, a COS worker who inherited Martha Merrington's seat on the Kensington Board of Guardians (WPP 12/4/90, p.290), served until 1877. Similarly, Mrs Heberden, a manager of London Board Schools since 1873, joined the committee in 1885. She, too, was a member of the COS and former Poor Law Guardian in St Pancras. (see Appendix Three).

These interlocking strands of activity effectively illustrate the contradictory nature of gender and class relations by highlighting the way in which private philanthropy provided middle class women with the key to liberation. To working class women such actions may well have appeared to be an unwarranted interference, a form of class cultural control exerted through various strictures about morals and lifestyle, effectively enforced by the very real threat to withhold help in the face of being defined as one of the 'residuum' of 'undeserving' poor. As Vicinus points out:

The streets of the slums, away from upper class men's eyes, were theirs; no matter how much they might be teased by little boys or abused by drunks, they carried a kind of immunity along the streets of the drab slums they sought to uplift.

Vicinus, 1985, p.220.

Of the other divisional committees formed in 1870 by female Board members, the female members appointed during Emily Davies' period in office may be characterised by the length of their service. Aside from the clusters of female representation in Greenwich and Marylebone, the first division to elect female Board members, the division of Westminster provides further evidence of another cluster of female activity amongst these socially homogenous women. One of the women appointed to the Westminster divisional committee in 1872 was Lady Augusta Stanley, member of Girton's first executive committee. Related by marriage to a future vice-chairman of the London School Board, Lyulph Stanley, it cannot have been mere coincidence that Lady Augusta was joined five years later by Lyulph's mother, the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderley.

A close friend and supporter of Emily Davies, The Dowager Lady Stanley not only helped raise funds for her college at Girton, but enlisted Lyulph's assistance in writing to other possible benefactors. She was closely associated with the Shirreff sisters, assisting in their efforts to establish the Girls Public Day School Trust, a limited company set up to create and administer private girls' schools for the middle classes. Similarly, her daughter Maude not only served on Elizabeth Garrett's committee and became a manager of several London Board schools, but was also a Poor Law Guardian in Westminster as well as being active in the girls's club movement. (EWR, 15/5/78, p.221).

Women of the same social and cultural milieu operated in a spirit of mutual cooperation to secure the success of other women within the field of educational administration, which was clearly seen as overlapping with areas of social welfare in which they felt able to exercise a legitimate concern. A second generation of younger women coming onto the Board during the 1890s were inspired by the success of their predecessors to create specifically female residential institutions, or settlement houses, in the East End slums. Both Honnor Morten and Mary Bridges Adams established settlements for women in Hoxton and Greenwich respectively, the former living alone in Hoxton for a year, before persuading her Bedford college friends to join her. Settlements not only provided middle class women with a sense of spatial freedom, but a means of achieving a sense of self-realization by devoting themselves to 'the service of the poor'. Within the settlements the work of women and men was clearly differentiated. While women tended to become board school managers, secretaries of Temperance Societies and members of the

Children's Happy Evenings Association and Children's Country Holiday Fund (Morten, 1899, pp 84-93), Koven (1987) argues that men concentrated on lecturing, social investigation and local politics, often moving into positions of power and influence as civil servants and parliamentarians.

Adopting an instrumental and pragmatic approach to the representation of women on school boards, it says much for the pervasiveness of the social patterning of gender that many female Board members stressed the fact that the Board school girls, as well as the boys, should have the opportunity of having their interests represented by members of their own sex. Although this approach may well have been designed to avoid the development of any antagonism with those who opposed the election of women, it may also have unwittingly nurtured the underlying chauvinism of many male members overtly revealed in school board debates. However outnumbered by men, and whether feminist or socialist in outlook, (in the sense that like Mary Bridges Adams they placed the class struggle above individualist and equalitarian variants of feminism espoused by Elizabeth Garrett), the school board woman offered all women a new model, made a breach in male political exclusiveness and struck a forcible blow at the philosophy of separated spheres.

Conclusion

Having explored the success factors crucial to women who sat on the London School Board, it is clear that the relationship between family background and patterns of socialisation, provided female Board members

with a source of commonality and social integration. Nevertheless, the sharing of a common culture not only set the women apart from their working class constituents and the children attending the elementary schools under their care, but from others of their class and gender.

The subsequent chapters focus upon the public lives of women on the London School Board, considered in terms of their relative contribution to the process of shaping the embryonic system of elementary education and highlighting the links between biography and public office. The central issue is the extent to which the social divisions of gender effectively shaped the role these women were able to play, considered in terms of the relationship between ideologies of femininity and the interests of dominant groups on society. These women enjoyed upper middle class family linguistic and social competences, style and manners but also belonged to a dominated group by virtue of their gender. It was this contradiction which lay at the root of the equal rights tradition of liberal feminist campaigns from which so many of these women derived their organizational strength.

ENDNOTES.

1. As Rubinstein (1977, p.259) points out, 28 of the Board's 326 members were women, a much higher proportion than has ever sat in the House of Commons. Nevertheless whilst the point he makes is a valid one, the figure cited should, in fact, be 29 rather than 28. Possibly he was omitting Edith Glover who only served until the Board's dissolution in 1904, following Mrs Maitland's resignation in 1903.

2. Circle of feminists who, in the late 1850s, not only established the first feminist periodical, The Englishwoman's Journal, but the first of the women's employment societies, the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women. Also offered the use of a library and a reading room for women in London's West End. Several of its members later became members of the London School Board, including Emily Davies, Elizabeth Garrett, Julia Webster and Alice Westlake.

3. Founded in 1865, the Kensington Society was a discussion group for women interested in educational, political, social and moral questions which met regularly at the house of Charlotte Manning (later first Mistress of Girton). Circulated the first enfranchisement petition for signatures which was later presented to the House of Commons by J.S.Mill and Henry Fawcett in June 1866. In addition to the secretary, Emily Davies, four other female members of the London School Board also joined, namely, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, Helen Taylor, Julia Webster and Alice Westlake. (See Kamm, 1977, p.147; Worzola, 1982, pp 183-5)

4. Committees formed for each of the electoral divisions of the metropolis, consisting of the members for that division, and other inhabitants or ratepayers of that division, nominated by the former. Constituting part of the machinery for enforcing the bye-laws relating to school attendance, members dealt with claims for the remittance of schoolfees whilst defaulting parents could be summoned to attend the committee in order to account for their child's absence from school either to be excused with a caution or warned that a summons to attend the magistrates court would follow.

5. The Charity Organisation Society was founded in 1869 to repress mendicancy, rationalise and professionalise philanthropy and hold firm to the principles of the 1834 Poor Law. The COS not only encouraged its members to become poor law guardians and co-opted guardians onto its committees but trained women to become rent collectors, district visitors and sanitary inspectors. Instilling both business methods and an enlarged sense of social responsibility, as well as a certain cast of mind, its women often became case-hardened, inquisitorial and authoritarian. Pauperism was seen as a state of mind, a habit of dependence.

CHAPTER THREE.

"THE ONLY DRAWING SUCH GIRLS WOULD REQUIRE TO KNOW WOULD BE THE 'DRAWING' OF GEESE AND OTHER THINGS OF THAT KIND FOR THE TABLE": GENDER AND CLASS IN THE SHAPING OF A FORMAL CURRICULUM FOR LONDONS' BOARD SCHOOLS.

3.1 Introduction

Though the presence of women on the Board struck a blow at the existing gender order, critical reflection upon the role played by these female policy-makers involves going beyond their 'pioneering' status. Did female members make a distinctive contribution to the workings of the Board? This chapter explores the process of elementary school curriculum development and change from the perspective of those female members of the London School Board who, along with their male colleagues, were responsible for laying the foundations of mass schooling in the nation's capital.

In examining the formal curriculum followed by children attending London Board schools, the chapter concentrates on the growing differentiation between the content of the education provided for working class girls and boys. This common thread provides the basis for an analysis of the actions taken by female members of the various school boards for London on the question of the subjects to be taught to girls. I argue that grasping the way in which personal experience and political affiliation interact within the feminism of London School Board women is integral to understanding the ideological perspectives they held with respect to the education of working class girls.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first section looks at how the Board worked to control the education of London's working classes, while the second gives an overview of educational provision for working class girls before 1870 and that given to middle class girls on both sides of the 1870 benchmark. The third and fourth sections make use of Williams' (1965) distinction between 'industrial trainers', 'public educators' and 'old humanists' in order to consider notions of subject-gender appropriateness at different periods in time, namely, 1870-85 and 1886-1904.

3.2. The Administration of the London School Board

The London School Board was composed of members elected for divisions corresponding to large vestries, and it had permissive powers for enforcing compulsory education. The Board used a property classification to identify the elementary school class, thereby inverting a well-established framework of rights and privileges connecting property with political representation! Consequently, school board visitors were required to 'visit' children living in homes with rents which were less than £40 (rateable value £35), or were let in tenements. As Henrietta Muller (MSBL 1879-85) pointed out at the time, the 1870 Act existed: "for the poor only - the sole instance we have, I believe, of a law intentionally limited in its operations to those whose incomes do not reach a certain height, for this is what it amounts to". (Westminster Review, January 1888, p.701)

Three parties were involved in the management of London's Board schools. The Board itself, working through a school management committee, the divisional members and the local managers. The centrepiece of the Board's administrative machinery, the school management committee was responsible for the management and discipline of Board schools, the instruction given, estimating the costs, and nominating, appointing, removing, and setting the salaries of, teachers. Weekly Board meetings assumed the form of a public debate during which members cast votes on motions of policy proposed by the chairs of the various committees or individual members. Florence Fenwick Miller (MSBL 1876-85) sets the scene:

The Board-room was a spacious, lofty chamber, with a gallery for the public at one end, facing a long table for the Chairman and other officers on a dais at the other end with a cross table below the dais for the press. The brown leather-covered seats for members between the Chairman's table and the public gallery were arranged horse-shoe fashion around the carpeted floor, and a massive table down the centre was provided for the papers of the members who chose the front row of seats, while those who sat in the back row had an individual desk fixed before each seat The chairmen of the several committees of the Board had a prescriptive right to the seats at the points of the horse-shoe and therefore next up to the chairman's dais and the press tables. In this and in all other matters the precedent of the customs of the House of Commons was followed.

'Autobiography' cited by Rosemary Van Arsdel, pp 14-15.

By contrast, the proceedings of Standing and Special Committees remained closed, despite Helen Taylor's (MSBL 1876-85) arguments about public accountability. (Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe Advertiser, 2/5/1885) All Board members could attend, but only committee members took part. (SBL Minutes 18/1/1871, pp 34-5) As the decision to appoint a committee to consider 'over-pressure' in schools exemplifies, special committees were constituted in a rather haphazard

way, tackling abuses when they arose and working pragmatically on glaring or publicised controversies. (SBL Minutes, 27/11/1884, pp 927-30)

The position of female members was undermined by a decision of the fifth Board that committees should be composed of members representing all the divisions. (SBL Minutes, 3/12/1885, p.25) Both Marylebone and Southwark had previously returned two women candidates, so this ruling made it more difficult for women to develop a power base on the Board. Female Board members were probably only too aware of the likely effect this could have upon the isolation and marginality they were experiencing. As one of their predecessors noted: "one can hardly be very useful on a committee when one's very existence is openly resented". (Edith Simcox, 9/2/1880, p.67) Perhaps it was no coincidence that the previous two Boards had nine and six female members from forty-nine! The latter also saw the first chairwoman of a Standing Committee, when Helen Taylor was elected to fill the vacancy on the Educational Endowments Committee. (Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Pall Mall Gazette, 20/6/1883)

An indication of the workload can be gauged by looking at the Board's weekly timetable. During the first Board, the Statistical Committee met alternate Thursdays at 3.30 pm, the Works and General Purposes on Mondays at 3, and the Finance Committee alternate Tuesdays at 3. The School Management Committee met every Friday at 3, the sub-committee of the Industrial Schools on Tuesdays at 10 and the Bye-Laws Committee alternate Thursdays at 2 pm. The Committee responsible for the supply of trained teachers met at 4.30 on Mondays, the Books and Apparatus every Thursday at 4, and the Charitable Endowments alternate Tuesdays at

3. (SBC, 8/6/1872, p.101) A flavour of the practical implications of all this is captured by the following entry in Edith Simcox's (MSBL 1879-82) diary:

Had a cup of tea in bed, reached Mortimer Street at 9, looked round, then to Hart Street to see about pupil and assistant teacher, then to Vere Street for drawing examination ... then saw the visitor and received reports of truant cases caught by the visitors, managers meeting ... then set off for the Rota, Works Committee and Educational Endowments etc - home reading Blackwood en route, wrote several letters and read beginnng of Froude's history of Henry VIII

Edith Simcox, *Autobiography of a Shirtmaker*, 9/3/1880, p.69.

This schedule imposed severe difficulties on members like Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, who resigned from the Statistical Committee because other duties precluded her from doing more than attend the Board and School Management Committee. (SBL Minutes, 10/1/1872, p.34) She may have had her New Hospital for Women in mind here, for it opened later that year. (Kamm, 1966, p.73)

Aside from the pressures of combining professional commitments and elective office, socialists like Helen Taylor and Annie Besant (MSBL 1888-91) accentuated the fact that the time of Board meetings precluded working class representatives from seeking election. Helen related the issue to the question of payment which she felt:

was one of the most important principles of public life - one, that in her opinion would lead to the most beneficial results in public work. It was impossible that those interested in the Board's - the working classes - should be represented upon it unless they were paid ... The Board should be a popular Board, and should really represent the working classes, and the parents of the children should have the chance of coming upon it.

SBC, 7/3/1885, pp 234-5.

Whilst Benjamin Lucraft (see Appendix Four), former Chartist and only working class member, supported her motion calling for Board meetings at 7pm, he felt payment would: "deprive bona-fide working men of all chance of coming upon the Board. They would stand no chance against adventurers and place seekers." (SBC, 5/3/1885, pp 234-5) Not surprisingly, given the political rationale underlying the 1870 Act, both motions were rejected. (SBC, 7/3/1885, p.234) The intention of the Act was to provide working class education, not that the working classes should assume responsibility for themselves. Four years later, and with the support of Lucraft, Annie Besant unsuccessfully moved that meetings be held at 6pm as: "it was impossible for members of the class who sent their children to Board schools to attend the meetings, therefore they did not seek seats on the Board." (SBC, 19/1/1889, p.55)

As far as the administrative machinery was concerned, the eighth Board took it in hand, streamlining the current nine into six Standing Committees. (1) However the various sub-committees of the School Management Committee retained their responsibility for specific subjects in the Board school curriculum until the Board's demise in 1904. Initial decisions on the methods of instruction to be adopted in London's Board schools were taken by a specially constituted committee. (2) The ideological climate in which such influential decisions were taken, is illustrated by the fact that as Committee members completed their first report, George Bartley (see Appendix Four) was expounding his belief that: "as a general principle all girls have more or less one great function to prepare for, and that is to be qualified to guide the house and train the young." (SBC, 20/5/1871, p.53)

3.3 The Legacy of Voluntary Provision.

According to Sara Delamont (1978b), the content of working class education was hardly differentiated by sex in mid-nineteenth century Britain and America, though by 1920 it was highly sex-specific. Research into educational provision for the English working classes before 1870, indicates that the schooling of girls was already both qualitatively and quantitatively more restricted than that of boys. Firstly, the school attendance of girls was far lower than that of boys. (Martin, 1987) Secondly, within the day schools organised by the two main religious organisations (3); which offered over 90% of voluntary school places, (Hurt, 1979, p.4), working class girls were offered fewer places than working class boys. Thirdly, differential stress was placed on appearance with neatness and cleanliness considered more important for girls. Fourthly, the 1851 Census and the Newcastle Report on the State of Popular Education a decade later, showed that girls lost out in all the academic subjects save reading. Once the Revised Code of 1862 made needlework a compulsory subject for schools receiving a grant from the Education Department, it was not uncommon for girls to spend their afternoons doing needlework, whilst any money received for their work was appropriated for school funds.(4) Of course this may have been a source of resentment amongst boys like Joseph Ashby (1859-1919), who recalled:

A specially hard time was the two 'sewing afternoons'. While the girls were collected together for sewing, the boys merely did more sums or an extra dictation, just the sort of thing they had been doing all morning. As they craned their necks to see what sort of garments, what colours, were coming out of the vicarage basket of mending, they were unusually tiresome to the poor pupil-teacher, losing their places over and over again, or mis-spelling words they

knew perfectly well - forgetting everything.

Ashby, 1961, pp 17-18.

Significantly, as 'compensation' for this extra time devoted to sewing, girls were permitted a lower standard in the annual arithmetic examination (Digby and Searby, 1981, p.46).

Given the proportion of the working class girls' time-table allocated to needlework and the subsequent expansion of domestic subjects during the post-1870 period (5), much of what has been written upon the education of working class girls during this period focuses upon the differentiation of the formal curriculum around gender. Here I want to consider the process of curriculum development and change from the perspective of female policy-makers who helped shape that provision, rather than looking at the schooling process and its impact upon the working class female student.

Focusing on the relationship between personal biography, feminism and party politics, it is possible to explore the contradictory elements in the ideological position adopted by these middle class women acting on behalf of working class girls. Equating feminism with a critique of the sexual division of labour and the notion of separate spheres, Dyhouse (1981) concludes that feminism had little influence on the changing shape of the curriculum in state elementary schools. Nevertheless, however minimal and ineffective the feminist challenge when considered in these terms, it is important to examine the limited opposition to gender differentiation in the formal curriculum. To ignore the fact that such forces existed and yet were largely unsuccessful is to underestimate

the power of the patriarchal and capitalist state in achieving consent for its strategies.

Part and parcel of a class and gendered analysis of the ideology underlying notions of subject-gender appropriateness for working class girls, is the need to comprehend the education of middle class girls during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Not only does such an understanding throw light on the relative atypicality of the educational backgrounds of female Board members: it also highlights distinctions between the content of the education received by middle class girls and that provided for working class girls by them and their male colleagues on the London Board.

Reflecting contemporary notions of the feminine ideal, for the majority of middle class girls, the emphasis was upon social accomplishments as an investment in the marriage market before any sort of intellectual activity, whereas a boy's education was regarded as an investment. Though many were taught by their mothers and governesses at home, or attended small private schools, those with very wealthy parents attended expensive, fashionable boarding schools. By mid-century, however, the unsystematic nature of this education was attracting criticism from professional and wealthy businessmen aspiring to a new standard of 'gentility' that would differentiate them from the newly rich. (see Burstyn, 1980) Growing pressure to improve governesses' teaching skills, linked to the greater competence expected of boys entering school, led to the foundation of Queen's College, Harley Street, in 1848 for the

education of girls over 12 years. Within six months, Bedford College opened with the broader aim of educating women who desired higher education, Emily Davies founding Girton in 1869.

Aside from the women's colleges, the movement to establish high schools for middle class girls grew:

The founders of these schools were in the main convinced that girls would benefit from a solid intellectual training in subjects such as classics, mathematics and later science; subjects conventionally defined as inappropriate for the 'feminine mind'. The schools were keen to provide what they defined as 'a sound, liberal education' ... Professional training or technical education might follow, but should in no circumstances be allowed to replace a general education.

Dyhouse, 1981, p.162.

The arguments advanced by Maria Grey in support of the campaign for equal educational opportunities for middle class girls and boys, illustrate the complex interaction of class and gender in this context:

The Elementary Education Act provides for the girls of the lower classes equal advantages with the boys. But the ratepayers so heavily taxed for this provision, get no aid whatever in educating their own daughters according to their class in life, and are obliged to send them to private schools, the greater number of which give an education greatly inferior to thoroughness and value as mental training to the elementary schools.

Journal of the Women's Educational Union, 15/5/1875, pp 9/10.

Bearing this assessment of the varying educational provision for girls from differing social classes in mind, it is Grey's perspective of an education suited to a person's station in life which is crucial here. The extent to which her view was representative of the attitudes adopted by female members of the London School Board remains to be seen.

3.4. A Curriculum for the Board Schools - 1870-1885

As members of the first School Board for London two women and forty-seven men faced the unenviable task of shaping the embryonic system of working class education then in existence. Unlike their male colleagues, Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett were also breaking new ground in the sense that they were the first women in England to be elected to positions of this kind of political responsibility. An exploration of Emily's role is of added pertinence to the development of a class and gendered analysis, given her uncompromising belief that college girls should study the same subjects and take the same examinations as boys. A paradox of vision and conventionality, she was at one and the same time the embodiment of middle class propriety and refinement. She saw no reason why a woman's intellect should not be encouraged to grow, equal and even outstrip a man's. According to McWilliams-Tullberg:

Her creed was to be perfectly expressed in the college which she founded; residential, thus taking the girls away from the distraction and petty demands of their homes, intellectually as demanding as any man's college, yet physically as far removed from the life of the university as possible.

McWilliams-Tullberg, 1975, p.29.

Whatever their personal creed, all members were constrained by the financially dependent relationship between the Board and central government. Maclure (1990, pp 45-6) estimates that initially the Education Departments Codes covered about 40% of the costs of educating a child at a London Board school. Radical members seeking to exercise some influence over the forms of education on offer faced opposition both within and outside the Board. Conscious of their perception in some

quarters as the 'guardians' of the ratepayers' money, many of whom harboured feelings ranging from apathy to outright hostility (6), the Board's expenditure from the rates could be legally challenged and members were well aware that any disallowal by the district auditor might seriously curtail the Board's powers and operations.

Once assembled, the Board adopted a preliminary curriculum including the necessary 3Rs and needlework, as well as religious instruction, music and drill, before appointing a special sub-committee to consider the schools and the methods of instruction to be adopted in them. Chaired by Professor Huxley (see Appendix Four), sub-committee members included both Emily Davies, drawing on the expertise "in the management of schools for the artisan and labouring classes" gained in her native Gateshead, (Papers of Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon, ED/LSB 28) and Benjamin Lucraft. In their first report the committee recommended eight Essential and two Discretionary Subjects for advanced scholars, although three members asserted various objections in a foot-note. Including the Reverend J. Allanson Picton, the member for Hackney whose niece Hilda (Miall-Smith) represented this constituency on the final Board. Allanson Picton objected to the recommendation that plain needlework and cutting out be an Essential subject for girls attending the Board's evening classes. (SBC, 24/6/1871, p.164)

3.5 Household Economy or Domestic Economy?

Whilst the Board rubberstamped the needlework recommendations, Allanson

Picton had greater success seconding Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's amendment to a motion moved by another member of the sub-committee, William Green, that Household Economy, (including laundry work and cookery) be taught in the senior girls' schools. (SBL Mins, 28/6/1871, pp 169-70) Moving that in the senior schools 'Domestic Economy' be added to the discretionary subjects Mrs Anderson asserted that:

The difference between this amendment and Mr Green's motion was threefold. In the first place domestic economy was substituted for cooking and washing; in the second place, the subject was to be discretionary; and thirdly, it would not limit the teaching to girls, but applied also to boys.

SBC, 24/6/1871, p.198.

She objected to girls under thirteen being taught cooking and washing on the grounds that they were too young to learn how to market, and how to cook in any really responsible way. She also argued that the expense entailed in obtaining suitable premises, equipment and staff, the unnecessary wastage of food, the unlikelihood of people sending in clothes to be washed in the schools, and the risk of infection for children washing clothes were reasons for not teaching cookery and washing to the under thirteens. She should be glad if domestic economy in a larger sense could be taught as one of the ordinary lessons of the school:

in domestic economy she thought such things might be taught as ventilation and the importance of good air, the best way of cleaning a room and elementary rules about different kinds of cooking, without having a kitchen to practise in. The evils of overcrowding, some elementary facts about the management of children ... might be taught ... As, however, the schools in different localities would vary much as far as regarded the average intelligence of the children, it would be desirable to leave the school managers to say when girls were sufficiently advanced to learn domestic economy. She should be glad also if managers could allow domestic economy to be taught to boys in certain cases ...

SBC, 1/7/1871, p.198.

To the laughter of his colleagues, William Green admitted to having been frequently convinced by ladies but denied having been so today. While they may have shared his sense of humour, they did not endorse his opinion and Mrs Anderson's amendment was carried by 35 votes to 4. (SBC, 1/7/1871, p.198)

Since Elizabeth Garrett Anderson did not object to the principle of working class girls being taught cooking and washing per se, but the age at which such instruction should begin, it is arguable that her prime concern was to avoid the devaluation of domestic skills. Whilst Mrs Anderson's limited opposition to notions of subject-gender appropriateness within the Board school curriculum represented a reaction to prevailing conditions of life and may encapsulate a positive conception of her sex's traditional activities within the home, it was a conception constructed within the context of class and gender power relations. The shadow of class thinking is seen in her unequivocal support for Emily Davies' uncompromising belief that college girls should study the same subjects and take the same examinations as the boys.

The exchange also shows how Mrs Anderson appealed to the liberal tenets of practical self-help, to justify her distinction between 'domestic' as opposed to 'household economy'. She stressed the links between cleanliness and hygiene, overcrowding and child management, to encourage changes in personal habits that provided an important means of solving social problems associated with industrialization and urbanization

without threatening the status quo. Gender and class interact in a discourse of power wherein ideological perspectives reflecting the Victorian desire for self-help provide the room for manoeuvre enabling Mrs Anderson to block the inclusion of 'household economy' in the elementary curriculum despite the derisory attitude of her chief protagonist, William Green. Nevertheless it should be noted that, given the semi-autonomous nature of the relationship between the Board and the capitalist and patriarchal state, to oppose the inclusion of needlework as an essential subject for working class girls' would have been futile given its status as a class subject within the existing system of payment by results.

Focusing upon motions presented by members of the sub-committee responsible for shaping the recommendations on the curriculum, it will be shown that the lines of demarcation in the debate over subject-gender appropriateness were drawn at the previous weeks meeting, when 'Rob Roy' Macgregor (see Appendix Four), suggested that book-keeping be taught to girls as well as boys. William Green felt that, "to make this an essential (subject) for girls would be to make the Board a laughing-stock. He thought the Board was almost running to seed on this matter," (SBC, 24/6/1871, p.168) to which Allanson Picton retorted:

If the Board were running to seed he hoped it would be very fruitful seed. He did not agree with Mr Green. A great many young women were anxious to be employed as book-keepers, and to many girls this would be a considerable step in advance in social position.

SBC, 24/6/1871, p.168.

Though Elizabeth and Emily were present during this exchange it seems

that the Reverend Dr Miller was left to argue that the Board do all it could to strengthen girls' performance in subjects associated with arithmetic. The Board then resolved that reading, writing and arithmetic, principles of book-keeping, English grammar and composition be taught in senior schools, with mensuration in senior boys' schools. Apparently no-one contested the limitation of the latter to senior boys' schools, despite the allegations of school inspectors that girls did less well in this branch of education!

3.6. Technical Drawing for Girls?

Even before Mrs Anderson's contribution to the domestic economy debate in a subsequent week, analysis of exchanges reveal how male members often disparaged their female colleagues who faced certain difficulties against the 'dominant tone' of the men. Tracing the progress of Thomas Huxley's motion that all children be taught to draw, the following opening remark shows the way in which the men used humour in order to assume an authoritative voice:

Professor Huxley held it as an axiom that everybody might be taught to draw ... it had not occurred to the committee that there were any particular reasons for excluding female children, whilst those who reflected on the employment of women would see that a certain elementary knowledge of art might be of use to them. He had just passed the office of a fashion journal, and as he looked at the drawings in the windows, he could not help reflecting that if women in general had a little more knowledge of art their attire would be more in accordance with aesthetical principles than at present; but upon this point he would defer to the judgement of the ladies who were members of the Board. (Laughter)

SBC, 1/7/1871, p.197.

As this condescending attitude shows, male members could dominate and intimidate female colleagues. The reference to attire is significant here as both women tried to defuse hostility to their public stance by conformity on the question of dress and were annoyed at some of their friends' deficiencies in this respect. Replying to Emily's comments on the subject, Elizabeth said: "I do wish, as you said, the D's dressed better. She looks awfully strong-minded in walking dress ... It is abominable, and most damaging to the cause ... I feel confident now that one is helped rather than hindered by being as much like a lady as lies in one's power." (quoted in Stephens, 1927, p.59) Huxley's comments on the teaching of drawing to girls undoubtedly reflected his belief that as women's anatomy inevitably confined them to an inferior position: "The duty of man is to see that not a grain is piled upon that load beyond what nature imposes; that injustice is not added to inequality." (Reader, May 1865, pp 561-2)

Needless to say, William Green moved the amendment that elementary drawing be included among the essential subjects for senior boys' schools only, with the following illuminating comment:

He could not help thinking that the Board was forgetting the class of children it had to educate, and their necessities in after-life ... of what use would drawing be to girls, whose future occupation would probably be that of domestic servants or the wives of working men? He ventured to think that the only drawing such girls would require to know would be the 'drawing' of geese and other things for the table. (Laughter) ... to educate girls in this way, in subjects that could be of no use to them in after-life would be to make them unfit for what some people chose to call the ordinary drudgery of every-day life; besides which the learning of a subject which would be of no use to them would be a waste of time ... Then there was the ratepayers side of the question ...

SBC, 1/7/1871, p.197.

In his speech Green combines a classic conservative statement epitomised by the belief that schools should contribute to the maintenance of the status quo, with concern about the level of the rates. In his opinion elementary education not only defined a social pattern and intellectual grade, but a form of relationship predicated upon a patriarchal ideology sustained by the state. Seeking to exert a very different influence to Huxley, like that group referred to by Williams (1965, p.162) as the industrial trainers, Green promoted education in terms of training and disciplining the poor, as workers and citizens. Huxley, however, belonged to the group known as public educators who argued that *men* (my emphasis) had a natural human right to be educated, and that any good society depended on governments accepting this principle as their duty. Using this gender-blind or generic nomenclature to distinguish the old humanists, according to Williams this third group felt that *man's* (my emphasis) "spiritual health depended on a kind of education which was more than a training for some specialized work, a kind variously described as 'liberal', 'humane', or 'cultural'." (p.162) This distinction not only provides a framework for understanding women's own involvement in the development of gender inequalities in the Board school curriculum, it also forms a benchmark for considering the educational philosophies espoused by female members of the London Board.

Thus, following on from the Reverend Prebendary Thorold who argued that there was a natural difference between the scheme of education for girls and boys, Emily Davies gave her reasons for voting in favour of the resolution and in opposition to Mr Green:

drawing would not ... interfere with essential subjects, because

they were protected in some way or other - needlework, for instance, being amongst the subjects in girls' schools for which the Government grant was given ... At first sight she was inclined to give up drawing as a thing that might be spared, but she had found that in the best girls' schools drawing was successfully taught without neglecting essential subjects, and she thought a practical experiment of that kind worth more than a good deal of theorising. They would all agree with the last speaker that it was undesirable to make the education of girls such that it would discourage them from taking an interest in the daily duties of life; but she could hardly think that the way to make them take an interest in such matters was to make them entirely ignorant of everything else ... what was wanted was to make the girls intelligent, and capable of making their homes and their husbands comfortable, and of improving the present state of things which so often led the husbands to the public house. She thought education for girls should be a little wider and a little more interesting than it was at present ...

SBC 1/7/1871, p.197.

Like the tactical ploy of placing the prettiest girls in front rows at the Cambridge local examinations when seeking permanent access for middle class girls (Kamm, 1958, p.67), Davies manipulates concerns about female 'duties' to argue that enhancing the content of education working class girls would not undermine the prevailing sexual division of labour. Taking 'practical experience' rather than 'abstract theorising' for her thesis, she effectively ensures the argument is based on rational formulations and cannot be dismissed as mere 'feminine' emotion. She sought to minimise the basis for cross-gender antagonisms through the use of such placatory language and skilfully offered support for her opponents' belief in the duties of girls, whilst taking issue with the means to achieve the desired ends. Far from expressing an educational philosophy which threatens the existing class and gender orders, the reasons cited in support of the resolution demonstrate that while there may be differences between the education policy statements

made by herself and William Green, their social aims are actually similar.

By contrast, the working class Benjamin Lucraft's expression of support for the resolution opposes the industrial arguments advanced by William Green or the more pragmatic response of Emily Davies. Aware of the inequalities of society, Lucraft incorporates a demand for fairness with an elementary egalitarianism and thereby conveys a sense that education matters. He:

hoped the Board would give the girls the same opportunity of learning drawing as the boys would have. If the Board were composed only of ladies, he felt sure they would vote for teaching the girls drawing, but seeing the Board was composed entirely of gentlemen, they voted in favour of their own sex but he hoped they would get rid of that feeling altogether. He wanted to see the children of working men have an opportunity of rising, and he hoped the Board would get rid of all narrow views, and strive to give to the poor an education which should be on equality with other classes, otherwise the poor would have no opportunity of rising, and things would remain as they are. He thought it would be better for the people to remain ignorant than to give them an education of a partial character ...

SBC, 1/7/1871, p.197.

In common with 'public educators' like Huxley, he wants to prevent universal education being narrowed to a system of pre-industrial training, although a perception of the aims of education as essentially socially ameliorative and personally fulfilling is tempered by a recognition of the dangers should mass schooling not take its form from the pursuit of these aims. Acknowledging the presence of gender antagonisms stemming from the composition of the Board, Lucraft implies that female members would uphold the solidarity of their 'sex' over and above the barriers of class.

Whether or not the differences between Lucraft and Davies should be interpreted in terms of the economic and political affiliations of social class, Lucraft maintains the stand he had adopted against further attempts to stultify the curriculum for working class girls. Hence during his third term of office, he opposes moves to discontinue the study of drawing other than geometrical drawing to girls, asserting that:

There seemed to be an opinion among some members that girls had other and more important branches of education to attend to, such as sewing, cooking, etc, ... But he thought it was quite as important for girls to learn drawing as well as boys ... In all well regulated working men's homes the wife was the mastermind, and it was important that girls should be well instructed in everything.

SBC, 1/12/1877, p.527.

Whilst the motion was defeated at this juncture, the debate was re-opened twelve years later when it was decided that although girls would still be taught all forms of drawing, unlike the boys it should not necessarily be taken as a subject for examination. As government grant was paid on the basis of examination results, this was a significant distinction both financially and in terms of the impetus to maintain standards. It also reflected how girls' proficiency in drawing was seen as of less importance than that of the boys. Once again Lucraft fought the scheme, ensuring an increase in the time girls would spend on the subject. Indeed two of the women sitting on this the seventh school board for London - Mrs Ashton Dilke and Mrs Maitland - used the opportunity to attack the amount of time devoted to needlework, the latter implying that she would rather the Board fight the Inspectors on this point than for the girls to spend less time on arithmetic and

spelling, as was stated under the New Code. (SBC, 1/6/1889, p.562.)

Indeed, making the most of opportunities to challenge the emphasis on needlework was a well-worn tactic amongst female Board members seeking room for manoeuvre within the restrictions of the governmental Codes. Previous women members used contemporary concerns about over-pressure on girls in schools to support their argument that girls should spend less time on needlework. Having persuaded the Board to challenge the Inspectorate, the Board raised the issue with the Education Department and succeeded in getting the schedule requirements reduced.

The Board's discussions on the formal curriculum reveal the complex intersections in the relationship between gender and class, with moves to secure equality of opportunity for girls supported by both men and women. At the time of her retirement, Emily Davies felt the only awkwardness she and Mrs Anderson experienced was a result of being offered more work than they could cope with, "from the other members of the Board we have met with the greatest courtesy and friendship, so that it has been a pleasure to work with them." (Papers of Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon, ED/LSB) To the extent that it influenced the kinds of issues on which male colleagues deferred to their judgement, however, their gender undoubtedly affected the role the women were able to play. Although as the following exchange suggests, in framing what amounted to a socialist educational programme, Benjamin Lucraft frequently found himself treated in the same way. Thus in bringing up the question of needlework once the Board resolved all children be taught to draw, Thomas Huxley rather patronisingly deferred to the opinion of the 'ladies opposite' as to whether or not knitting might be inserted as

well. (SBC, 1/7/1871, p.197) Whilst later, amidst laughter, William Green muses that:

Everyone would know the necessity of cooking - how it tended materially to keep persons in a happy state; for he supposed Mr Lucraft would not consider it derogatory to the future state of the girls in their schools if they were taught how to cook, so as to be able to provide for their children and husbands.

SBC, 1/7/1871, p.198.

Conscious of the need to avoid discouraging other women from following in her footsteps, Davies was concerned to play down the relevance of gender. The presence of women in the public sphere is legitimised by reference to the public-private dichotomy itself. Repudiating the implication that the private sphere enters the social through the family-society couplet alone, she saw public work as part of the 'duties of women' akin to home duties, arguing that just as no woman would repudiate the latter on the grounds of being unfit, so all women had duties to the larger human family. In her opinion: "the spectacle of the misery and vice all round us is in itself a call to every one who can to lend a helping hand, in his or her best way to make things better."

(Papers of Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon, ED/LSB)

The experience of the first two women was mirrored by that of successive female members during the years 1870 to 1885. The majority of these women were keen to vocalise their opinions during debates over the growth of the domestic curriculum. Whilst gender divisions were reflected in the assumption on the part of certain male members that their female colleagues held a certain interest in these subjects, this

did not mean the men deferred to the women's judgement even when it was based upon professional expertise.

3.7. Cookery Lessons for Working Class Girls?

Thus the opposition from the two female members to plans to introduce cookery lessons for older girls in 1874, were not heeded, even though Jane Chessar based her opinion on twenty years experience of lecturing to girls at the Home and Colonial Training College and was ably supported by her colleague, Alice Cowell. (see, for example, SBC, 6/6/1874, pp 560-1) Addressing a meeting of headmistresses in 1877, Jane Chessar made her feelings on the issue clear:

if one only had to do what was abstractly the best thing in education one would probably oppose the introduction of any industrial work into elementary schools at all, but, as teachers, they must carry out what was the desire of the Government and what appeared also to be the desire of the public.

SBC, 3/3/1877, p.243.

Whilst Jane's position is clearly distinguishable from that of the industrial trainers, her pragmatic response contains a kind of realism in the face of what she sees as public opposition and the actual structure and organization of elementary education.

Henceforth female opponents were to be placed on the defensive since the Education Code of 1878 made domestic economy (7) a compulsory specific subject for girls in state elementary schools. Undeterred and with the support of the working class representatives on the third Board - George

Potter (see Appendix Four) and Benjamin Lucraft - both Mrs Surr and Mrs Westlake voiced their opposition to the use of purpose-built cookery centres, for teaching practical cookery. Illustrating the expansion of gender differentiation in the formal curriculum, these centres would entail female pupils physically leaving the school premises for a given period of time, in order to receive instruction in subjects like washing, cookery and housework. Nevertheless, class divisions were exposed when Mrs Westlake expressed the opinion that "the majority of the working classes did not know how to make the best of cheap articles and how to cook their food to the best advantage". (SBC, 1/6/1878, p.515) Whereas Potter and Lucraft thought the whole scheme unnecessary, the two women merely opposed the use of cookery centres for the work. Hence Benjamin Lucraft retorted that:

there was very little waste of food among the poor. He agreed with Mr Potter in regarding the whole scheme as unnecessary, and it was a waste of time to teach girls such a simple thing as how to cook a potato. Mrs Westlake was not at all acquainted with the working classes or she would not argue in the way she did.

SBC, 1/6/1878, p.515.

The following year, during a debate on Mrs Surr's motion providing grounds for excusing girls from attendance at the newly established cookery centres (8), Mrs Westlake drops all opposition though her claims that "the cookery lessons were very popular" (SBC, 11/1/1879, p.32) contradicts the findings of the special report on the progress of domestic economy work in schools compiled for the Education Department in 1896-7. Referring to the 1880s, the report asserts that mothers frequently complained their daughters 'wasted their time' in going to the cookery lessons, while the Board's superintendent of cookery

recalled: 'prejudice against it was almost insuperable, and parents put every possible obstacle in the way of their children attending the classes.' (cited in Dyhouse, 1981, p.90) Even that arch exponent of cookery teaching under the London Board, Rosamond Davenport-Hill, was forced to admit parental attitudes were mixed. Referring to the 'frivolous excuses' given for non-attendance, she continues: "the girls, they may remark, go to school to learn reading and writing; as for cooking they can learn it at home." (Macmillans Magazine, June 1884, p.104) In conclusion it is worth noting that George Potter allied himself with another female member, Florence Fenwick Miller, in a last-ditch attempt at reducing the length of these classes. The two respectively moving and seconding a motion that cookery instruction commence at 10.30 am rather than 9am. (SBC, 11/1/1879, p.32)

Far from encouraging the growth of domestic subjects, female Board members who opposed the schemes struggled to minimise their impact upon the formal curriculum followed by working class girls. In adopting this stance, these women and their male sympathisers sought to challenge the definitions of a sex-specific education held by the majority of their male colleagues on the Board and the Education Department, reinforced by the pressure group activity of the domestic subjects movement documented by Turnbull. (1983) However futile the challenges of women like Helen Taylor to the expenditure of £8.8 shillings on equipping the kitchens to be used for such lessons may have been (SBC, 2/7/1880, p.232), such challenges represent an element of resistance to dominant notions of subject-gender appropriateness diffused through the dual system of elementary education. As such, they form a crucial component in the

struggle to define mass schooling dominated by the three groupings identified by Williams (1965, pp 162-3) as the public educators, the industrial trainers and the old humanists. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that they took place in the intermediate period before cookery was elevated to the status of a grant-paying subject in the Code of 1882.

Even in 1885, however, we find Helen Taylor and Frances Hastings attempting to modify the curricular changes recommended by the School Management Committee by respectively moving and seconding an unsuccessful amendment to reduce the number of practical cookery lessons at the kitchens from twenty to sixteen. Consequently, of the six female members of the fifth School Board for London present, whilst Frances Hastings, Henrietta Muller and Helen Taylor voted in favour of the amendment, Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Alice Westlake did not. Undeterred by the defeat of this amendment by nine votes to twenty-two, Helen Taylor moved a further amendment, seconded by James Ross, to replace the proposed twenty cookery lessons with sixteen. Though the margin of defeat remained the same, this time she also received the support of Florence Fenwick Miller, besides that of Frances Hastings and Henrietta Muller. (SBL Minutes, 12/3/1885, pp 759-60).

Significantly, the two women who did not support the amendment, Alice Westlake and Rosamond Davenport-Hill, belonged to what Florence Fenwick Miller referred to as the 'official ring', "a party of members who voted for each other than for principles". (SBC, 7/4/1883, p.3) Largely composed of the chairs of the standing committees and those in their

confidence, Fenwick Miller and her supporters felt that these members "exercised an arbitrary authority, and gave no heed of suggestions or representations coming from outside the ring". (SBC, 28/10/1882, p.438.) According to Hollis (1987, pp 102-3), influential positions were secured by commitment, contribution and committee work - measured in terms of recorded attendance at Board meetings - as such factors ensured that the persons concerned were voting for recommendations that they had helped shape. Nevertheless it is highly questionable whether even if, like Davenport-Hill, Mark Wilks, (chairman of the School Management Committee), and Westlake, they had achieved a high number of attendances over a given period of time, minorities could have won over the rest of the Board to their way of thinking. Moreover it should be noted that the figures cited were taken from a paper published by the School Board Election Committee campaigning for members who supported a loyal and Liberal administration of the 1870 Act, itself dominated by key members of the aforementioned 'official ring', Mark Wilks and Alice Westlake. Consequently, it is not inconceivable that the separate periods of six months chosen, the first ending May 1881 and the second in October 1882, portrayed their representatives in the most favourable light. Not surprisingly, the pamphlet fails to differentiate between opposing groups, labelling all members who opposed Liberal recommendations as 'enemies of the board'.

Nevertheless, I would argue that in opposing the expansion of various discriminatory practices in the pattern of working class boys' and girls' curricula, female members of the various school boards for London who did so were enunciating a firm belief in the need to uphold the

solidarity of their gender. Whilst the attitude of the majority of Board members towards school gender training and sexual divisions in the labour force mirrored those held by officials of the Education Department, however, the hands of dissenting female policy-makers and educators were effectively tied. Despite the weakness of these women's position within the context of the existing structure of educational organization, as Johnson (1981, pp 34-5) points out, "school board politics seems to have combined just the right degree of adversity and of hope to encourage socialist and feminist activists to make it a main part of their work." As the dominant political forces were presumably well-aware, dominated groups can always produce a 'counter hegemony' which is truly 'oppositional' and cannot be incorporated into the dominant culture. It was this possibility, albeit remote, that made the expansion of domestic subjects in the elementary school curriculum a site of tension between proponents of the alternative views.

If defining female members of the London School Board as feminists was dependent upon their stance on the issue of subject-gender appropriateness, women like Alice Westlake and Rosamond Davenport-Hill would probably not be defined as feminists at all. Given the tensions of gender and class, it is impossible to talk of a single late-nineteenth century, early twentieth century feminism. Female Board members shaped their own response to concerns about the propriety of their position as middle class women pursuing a public life, against a social thought preoccupied with the need to train or discipline the poor into an independent and self-maintaining existence.

3.8. The Case of Rosamond Davenport-Hill.

In focusing upon the work of Rosamond Davenport-Hill, it will be argued that by supporting the expansion of the domestic side of the girls' curriculum, she was able to develop an area of expertise upon which to build a power base culminating in her position as chairperson of the Cookery, and later Domestic Sciences, Committee. Davenport-Hill represented the City from 1879-97, during which time she was largely responsible for establishing one hundred and forty cookery centres and fifty centres for teaching laundry work. (Dolman, 1896) Writing retrospectively, a former colleague described her as: " a strong partizan and supporter of the School Board Policy. She is not a friend of women." (Henrietta Muller in the WPP, 24/11/1888, p.1).

Significantly, her work on the Board was apparently not hampered by the fact that she made so few verbal contributions at Board meetings that she became known as the 'silent member.' According to her biographer: "during the first six months after her election she never spoke at all. She would sit in her place at the Board, listening and quietly knitting." (Metcalf, 1904, p.67) Given the conventional stereotype of Victorian femininity, it is not inconceivable that the majority of her male colleagues felt more comfortable in dealing with her reticence than the outspoken challenges to conventional sex-role stereotyping voiced by some of her female colleagues. To quote from her obituary in the SBC:

She was one of the least demonstrative of members, but her work was too good and too widespread to escape recognition .. She was on occasion a good speaker, in a style severely simple, but direct, concise and clear; yet her voice was less often heard in the Board Room than was the sound of her busy knitting needles. As Chairman

of the Sub-Committee on Cookery, and as an especially active member of the Industrial School's and School Management Committee's she gave conspicuous indication of the claims of women to be entrusted - given fair opportunity - with administrative duties, and with large schemes of organisation.

SBC, 9/8/1902, p.134.

In considering such eulogies, it is important to note that as the organ of the school boards the Chronicle was unlikely to portray any individual who had worked so hard in their cause, as they saw it, in an unfavourable light. Consistently supporting the Liberal programme, she avoided the opprobrium involved in going beyond it and challenging the forms of education provided by the Board in conjunction with the Education Department. Nevertheless it is significant that it is her behaviour., actions and achievements which are being cited for praise here, and used to merit her adoption as a role model for other women to follow. Far from accentuating her 'motherly' qualities, as does Metcalfe, it will be argued that her vigorous promotion of domestic subjects for girls reflected the adoption of her father's ideological belief in the value of the regulation of the poor evident in his writings on criminal reform.

Born into a family of reformers sharing the mid-Victorian concern with the classification and regulation of the working classes, by the time of her election to the London School Board, Rosamond already had twenty years experience of working alongside her father, Matthew (see Appendix Four) sister Florence and Mary Carpenter in the movement for educational and criminal law reform. Her father accentuated the necessity for individual reformation to be enforced through regulation and it is significant to note that, as the eldest daughter, her mother's early

death meant that:

All through her formative years of early womanhood Rose had in reality been her father's companion. She had shared his thoughts, joined in the conversation of his friends and profited by their society ... it became her pleasure to read to him and to do much of his writing for him.

Metcalf, 1904, p.4.

Moreover according to Gorham's (1978) analysis of the correspondence between her father and mother, her father idealistically conceptualised her mother as the 'Angel in the House'. Whilst Matthew appreciated his wife's intelligence, "her interest in public affairs was to go as far as *he not she* wanted." (Gorham, 1978, p.142). Considering the close relationship between father and daughter, with Matthew apparently choosing her clothes because she would be judged by her appearance, since most people never look beneath the surface, *her actions on the Board* illustrate the fact that she, like her father, accepted the conventional mid-Victorian view of woman's role. Highlighting the inbuilt weakness of the domestic ideology as a theoretical construct, besides accepting conventional stereotypes of the female role, she also shared her father's strong belief in moral duty, the force motivating many nineteenth century reformers. This firm belief in an individual's moral duty provided the grounds for her entry to the public sphere, firmly couched in terms of the moral duty of a specific class to reform the members of another class for the good of society as a whole.

In considering the relationship between personal biography and entry to the public sphere, in the shape of elected office, the relative significance of religious affiliation is called into question by the

fact that when her father died in 1872, Rosamond turned away from his religious conformity by leaving the Church of England and becoming a Unitarian. Such a move represented more than a break with the religious observance which had played a major part in her upbringing. Alongside other Non-conformists, Unitarians shared the evangelical morality and a keen concern for social problems which was such a powerful force in Victorian society. As a member of the third generation of a reforming family, her grand-parents becoming known as the proprietors of an experimental school and educational theorists in the 1820s, Rosamond was aided in her public career by the fact that, as Gorham (1978, p.121) points out: "the worldly success of the mid-Victorian Hills ... ensured that members of the third generation began life feeling that they belonged in the world of the successful and powerful. This gave them a natural assurance, that the mid-Victorian Hills lacked, in spite of their outward success." Hence the career as an administrator and reformer, despite her gender and ideological commitment to the patterns developed by her father, Matthew Davenport Hill.

Nevertheless it is also important to acknowledge the fact that Rosamond achieved contemporary eminence by projecting her father's regulationist ideology into vigorous support for the expansion of gendered subjects in the board school curriculum. Embracing the charitable with the policing impulse, Matthew saw distinct segments of the working class as "a series of social 'problems' ... to be solved by legislation and by voluntary reform techniques whose ultimate aim was to control and enforce conformity on the groups in question." (Gorham, 1978, p.129) Her educational philosophy reflected a belief in the value of really

'useful' knowledge (Davenport-Hill, 1884, p.104), reminiscent of her father's work for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (9), combined with conventional class and gender stereotypes. Hence instruction in needlework and cookery is seen as:

essential to the comfort of the working classes ... knowledge which will enable these poor children to command somewhat higher wages than otherwise, as mere drudges, they could hope to obtain is of greater value to them than even a competent knowledge of the three R's.

Davenport-Hill, 1884, p.99.

Here we see a clear enunciation of a belief in curricular reform as a means of change within the existing social and economic structure of nineteenth century England, enabling the working classes to improve their lot by means of a specifically limited form of education for working class girls. Such lessons, it is argued, would enable the girls to command higher wages, thereby retaining their independence from the state, whilst facilitating the development of the future home environments she believed were so important in preventing and curing related social problems, such as juvenile delinquency. Differentiating between this and technical education, Davenport-Hill justifies the teaching of needlework and cookery to working class girls by reference to their social class. Such subjects do not constitute handicrafts that is, employments followed for gain because:

These two industries in their lower grades are, indeed, so closely interwoven with the daily life of women in all but the wealthy classes, that we cease to regard them as handicrafts at all, except in that higher development which can only be reached through an apprenticeship.

Davenport-Hill, 1884, p.99.

Given her support for the expansion of domestic subjects in the Board

school curriculum and conventional gender stereotypes of the feminine role, it is worth noting the publicity attributed to her work by contemporary mainstream publications. Notwithstanding the longevity of her term as an elected representative, it is significant to note that it was she and Mrs Ruth Homan - her successor as Chairman of the Domestic Subjects Sub-Committee - rather than other female colleagues, who were frequently depicted as 'typical' female representatives on the London School Board. Conforming to contemporary gender stereotypes, illustrated by their involvement in what were perceived as 'women's issues', they were useful both to suffragists campaigning for the parliamentary franchise as well as organs supporting the Board's work. Both were active and efficient members, neither of whom appeared to threaten the prevailing class and gender orders of nineteenth century England.

3.9. 1885-1904.

Questioning the assumption that Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Ruth Homan were 'typical lady members', the exposure given to Mrs Homan in the contemporary media will be contrasted with that accorded her female colleagues in relation to the debate over the curriculum during this later period. According to one such journalist, Mrs Homan will serve as a 'type of her sister members'; a 'splendid housewife' she is considered able to speak with authority on the subject of housewifery teaching because:

few homes are so well organised as that over which she presides at Kensington. Every morning at half-past-eight she arranges the duties for the day of her servant, breakfast having been served

half-an-hour earlier. By half-past-nine she is free to take her share of the work of the Board, whether that happens to be visiting any of the fifteen schools in Tower Hamlets under her supervision, answering letters sent by teachers, attending committee meetings, or visitng some industrial or housewifery centre.

Morrison, 1896-7, p.36.

Clearly her class background infers a very different conception of the housewife from that taught to working class girls in the educational policies she is instrumental in framing. Not suprisingly, in view of the Victorian acceptance of the social gradations in society, the writer fails to see the contradictions reflected in the dual standards of the so-called 'domestic ideology'. Hence, rather than actually performing such tasks as cooking and laundry, Ruth is responsible for organising the labour of others - working class servants - to perform the daily domestic duties leaving her free to earn her reputation as "an able and conscientious London School Board member." (Bateson, 1895, p.48) Once again, wealth and class position coalesced and enabled her to surmount the 'domestic ideology' confining men and women to separate spheres, and develop her organisational skills within the field of working class educational administration. She was able to shape the expansion of the domestic curriculum for those working class girls, over whom she holds sway within the private sphere and here, in the public. Unlike the performers of manual domestic labour, as a school board member responsible for organising instruction in such subjects she, by contrast to her paid working class servants, is depicted as a 'professional' woman, albeit unpaid, by virtue of her class background and subsequent development of administrative, rather than practical, domestic skills. The social patterning of gender and class underpinning this combination of voluntary effort with a professional label.

Despite the energetic and enthusiastic support for the development of such gendered subjects on the part of Mrs Homan, some of her female colleagues on the Board voiced their concerns, albeit to little avail. Thus Honnor Morten felt that older girls were made to specialise in domestic economy too early with the result that other subjects like drawing and arithmetic got neglected. She continues:

There are a very large number of women on the School Board's now, and they ought to make their motto, 'Thorough grounding for the girls.' Unfortunately, it is the women members who so often press domestic economy lessons on babies, it being the thing of which they themselves have a little knowledge.

Morten, 1899, p.18.

Nevertheless, the majority of female members during the final years of the Board's existence appear to have accepted conventional gender stereotypes to the extent that they utilised their alleged 'expertise' accordingly to develop a power base for themselves within what Thomas Gautrey (16) significantly referred to as the 'aggressive' Domestic Subjects Sub-Committee. The expansion of domestic subjects within the Board school curriculum offered such women a means of fulfilling what they perceived to be a reforming role in social amelioration by improving the social conditions of the working classes without challenging the patriarchal and capitalist state by threatening the existing class and gender orders of society. Working within the system, they sought to expand their power base accordingly, with the result that Thomas Gautrey was forced to oppose the proposals made by the aforementioned sub-committee then chaired by Mrs Homan with Mrs Maitland as vice-chairman, for a long new syllabus of instruction in Home Economy

including home nursing, on the grounds that the "essential subjects are being driven out of girls' schools." (The Board Teacher, 1/7/1899, p.168)

However, Honnor Morten maintained her stance, deprecating the development of gendered schooling as typified by the board school curriculum when commenting on the Chairman's Annual Report to the Board. By contrast Mrs Bridges-Adams, first Labour member of the London School Board and referred to as 'that damned Communist from Woolwich', is not recorded as having made any contributions on the subject. Testifying to her belief in the power of education to change the existing social order, Mary preferred to take up the issues of technical and secondary education. Successfully moving that the Board lobby the Technical Education Board of the London County Council in an attempt to secure a more equitable distribution of scholarship funds to those living below a certain level of income. (SBC, 3/2/1900, p.112)

It appears that the place of domestic subjects within the elementary school curriculum was largely unchallenged by female members during the final years of the Board's existence. Now in place and in operation, I believe the expansion of the domestic curriculum for working class girls reflected an uneasy compromise between the educational ideologies espoused by the three groups identified by Williams and the underlying justifications, understandings and explanations for the relative position and organization of men and women in society. Within this framework of ideas, industrial trainers would stress the need for training and discipline, with cookery, laundry and needlework promoted as essential preparation for future adult work for women. Reflecting the

sexual division of labour between masculine private and feminine public, for working class girls, this was conceptualised in terms of women's domestic role often utilized in both paid employment and the unpaid 'servicing' of men and children in the home. In this social and political context, within the populist ideology of public educators, the way was clear for presenting the case in terms of the girls' dual location as working wives and mothers. Reminiscent of the 'old humanists' emphasis upon character, others justified notions of subject-gender appropriateness by reference to women's 'special' role as 'nurturers' and 'moral' guardians of family life.

Advocates like Rosamond Davenport-Hill appealed to such Victorian values as thrift and the duty of work, stressing the need to develop all aspects of the child's personality by a combination of mental and manual training through the introduction of practical studies relevant to the child's future occupation as conceptualised within the existing status quo. Wishing to improve the existing social order, support for domestic subjects was consistent with the policy of using education for assistance in achieving this end. Appealing to the reforming tendencies of upper middle class women who sought to ameliorate the living conditions of the working classes by using the girls as a tool of practical self-help, the domestic curriculum conformed with the philanthropic conception of middle class women's duties, they brought to their membership of various school boards. Thus in 1897, Ellen McKee made the move from Poor Law Guardian in Holborn to representing the City as Rosamond Davenport Hill's successor both in temperament and politics.

Following in Rosamond's footsteps, Ellen avidly supported the domestic curriculum her predecessor had helped to expand.

Whether supporters or detractors of the domestic curriculum, however, many female members sought to minimise the element of gender differentiation involved. As when Mrs Maitland, acting on a suggestion made by Mrs Homan, moved that boys be taught cookery on an experimental basis. She argued that cookery would be useful to boys likely to become sailors or soldiers which, despite the derision with which it was greeted by some members, was only defeated by a single vote.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have used Williams' (1965, p.162) tripartite distinction between the public educators, the industrial trainers, and the old humanists to analyse the educational ideologies underlying the teaching of particular skills' to working class girls. It was argued that notions of subject-gender appropriateness reflected the marginalisation of working class women in low-paid work often utilizing domestic skills and the unpaid domestic labour involved in caring for their families. Hence the curriculum which the nineteenth century evolved is seen as one which sought both class and gender control.

Nevertheless, as parental resistance and the vociferous opposition of some female Board members makes clear, the struggles over the inclusion of domestic subjects within the curriculum reflect the diversity of

ideologies that characterised school board politics. Consequently, the patterns of educational practices may be seen as a crucial component in the struggle for hegemonic control on the part of the established order and the class and gender interests which dominate it. However outnumbered, certain of the 'ladies at the Board' did produce a counter hegemony that was truly 'oppositional' and manifested itself in a corresponding resistance to the growth of the domestic ideology within the curriculum. The presence of female Board members ensured that what was termed "a woman's question" remained on the agenda, irrespective of the ultimate fate of these strategies for educational change. As the Governess reported after the Board spent nearly two hours debating the issue of over-pressure and school needlework:

The gentlemen did it with very bad grace, showing plainly that they would never have bothered about Needlework if they had not been compelled by the ladies at the Board. The subject was brought before them by Mrs Fenwick Miller, who was seconded by Miss Hastings, and supported by Miss Muller. The motion was that the School Management Committee should be instructed to consider what steps could be taken to diminish the over-pressure in Girls' Schools, caused by the time spent on Needlework. Mrs Fenwick Miller said that she had a return made to her by the teachers, from which she found that four hours and twenty minutes weekly, on an average, was spent in the girls' schools on this subject. At the same time the girls were expected to pass the same examination in general education as the boys. The result of this was that the girls were practically expected to learn as much as the boys in every four hours and forty minutes, as the boys are in every five hours and thirty minutes spent in school.

The Governess, 17/11/1883, p.138.

Sensitive to the social and political context in which the debate took place, Florence qualifies her remarks with the comment that while she "would be sorry to exclude either cookery, needlework or drawing from the schools, some limitation was wanted." (SBC, 10/11/1883, p.475)

Whether opponents or supporters able to develop an area of expertise

upon which to build a power base upon the Board, therefore, the issue of the expansion of the domestic side of the girls' curriculum assumed a high profile for the majority of women elected to the London School Board. While the elementary curriculum they helped shape illustrated the links between the distribution of educational knowledge and the gendered patterns of segregated labour markets, female members adopted a more conciliatory tone than the middle class Mrs Stanton Blatch who told an audience at the all-female Pioneer Club that she "gave her life" to the work of fighting down the idea that the only place for women was home. (Shafts, June 1895, pp 35-6)

ENDNOTES.

1. The committee structure of the London School Board, 1891-1904:

A. School Accommodation and Attendance Committee. Chief Duties:

- a) Determining the need for school accommodation.
- b) The selection of sites.
- c) The attendance of children.

B. Works Committee. Chief Duties:

- a) The purchase of sites for schools.
- b) The erection or enlargement of school buildings.
- c) Original provision of furniture, subsequent maintenance of buildings and furniture in a proper state of efficiency.
- d) The hire of buildings for temporary schools.
- e) The nomination and control of schoolkeepers and cleaners.
- f) The granting of Sunday and weekday tenancies.
- g) The supply of coal, gas, water.
- h) The general care of all Board properties.

C. School Management Committee. Chief Duties:

- a) Transaction of all business relating to the management and discipline of the Board's ordinary day schools, and to the instruction given in the schools.
- b) To advise the Board upon the accuracy of any estimate of additional expenditure not included in the Annual Estimates, and as to the existence or otherwise, of the funds to meet it.
- c) Nomination of, appointment of, salaries of, and removal of, teachers.

D. Finance Committee. Chief Duties:

- a) To prepare the annual estimates.
- b) To advise the Board upon the accuracy of any estimate of additional expenditure not included in the Annual Estimates, and as to the exercise or otherwise, of funds to meet it.
- c) To examine the School Accounts.
- d) To settle the schedules for stationary, printing, the duties now carried out by the Store Committee.
- e) To report to the Board as to necessity of providing funds and raising loans.
- f) To check bills for payment as to:

Order of Board or Committee

Arithmetical accuracy

Correctness

Price charged.

E. General Purposes Committee. To conduct:

- a) The legal work
- b) Work in connection with Minuting and Educational Endowments.
- c) The work of the Salaries Committee and office control.

F. Industrial Schools Committee.

2. Committee appointed by the members of the London School Board on the motion of Professor Huxley, seconded by Mr Alderman Cotton, to consider the scheme of education to be adopted in the public elementary schools. (SBLMins, 15/2/1871, p.60)

3. A reference to the voluntary schools established by the two major school societies, the non-conformist Royal Lancastrian Association, a marriage of convenience between dissenters and entrepreneurs dating from 1810 and renamed the British and Foreign Schools Society in 1814 and the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Formed in 1811, the National Society took over the charity schools run by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge with the result that by the 1850s schools associated with the Church of England outnumbered British schools in the ratio of about seventeen to one. Other forms of educational provision, as opposed to such indigenous forms of schooling as the dame schools, included charity schools founded on the basis of gentry endowments, industrial schools, factory schools and ragged or free schools provided by philanthropists for children considered too dirty and poor to be acceptable elsewhere.

4. At Bampton National School, for example, instituted in 1812:

A printed list of 'prices for work' was incorporated in the rules, so that men's fine shirts were made by the pupils at 2s each nightshirts for 10d, and girl's coarse shirts for from 3d to 6d, and a pair of pillowcases for from 2d to 4d. In all, twenty-five different articles could be ordered.

Horn, 1978, p.43.

5. The 1862 Revised Code introduced Sir Robert Lowe's principle of payment by results whereby grants were pinned to the specific performance of individual children in the six standard examinations conducted by Her Majesty's inspectors. Fastened a mechanical system of rote teaching, mainly confined to the three Rs, on the schools. Although

successive codes expanded the list of optional or class subjects on which, in addition to the three Rs and needlework, grant was payable, schools were not allowed to present any child for examination in more than two or three class subjects.

6. Such elements included a lack of belief in the value of elementary education, objections to the levying of a school board rate, a concern with the position of the voluntary Anglican schools, those who saw no reason to encourage the poor to rise above their station.

7. Could cover such subjects as the use, care and repair of clothing, the weekly wash day, the choosing and cooking of food, the cleaning of cooking utensils, warming, lighting and cleaning a house, simple cures for slight ailments, and the management of a sickroom.

8. Contending that parents of children who attended the Board cookery classes objected to their removal from the school Bible lesson, Mrs Surr argued that the Board had no right to enforce the attendance of girls at the cookery centres unless the full consent of their parents for the withdrawal of their children had been obtained. (SBC, 11/1/1879, p.32)

9. Liberal-Whig organisation launched by Henry Brougham with the help of Matthew Davenport Hill in 1826. Sought to "'drum sound doctrine into the people', first and foremost the doctrine of the unity of interest of employed and employeee, the latter having the duty to follow where the former led." (Simon, 1981, p.163)

CHAPTER FOUR

'Hard-headed and large-hearted': Women and the Industrial Schools.

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter spelt out the process by which participation in the expansion of the domestic curriculum enabled some female Board members to develop an area of expertise upon which to build a power base. This chapter considers the extent to which the issue of industrial school management may also be seen as an emergent policy area for women.

Clearly female representatives adapted to the mixed public arena of school board politics in a variety of ways, ranging from strong partizan support for specific 'party' policies to the enunciation of a firm belief in the need to uphold the solidarity of their gender. During the late-1870s and early 1880s the London School Board was the focus of a series of allegations concerning the administration of industrial schools. As female Board members played a key role the controversy forms an obvious context within which to explore the conflicts faced by women in positions of authority in the late-nineteenth century.

Focusing upon their contradictory experience as members of controlling committees, the chapter considers how, and to what extent, female Board members were able to exert power, authority and control through an analysis of two very different sets of power relations. Firstly, there were the relations between parents, children, and the London School Board considered in terms of the issues surrounding the question of compulsory attendance. Secondly, there were the relations between female members of the Board, both as individuals and as colleagues working in a

male dominated environment. Using Gramsci's concept of the role organic intellectuals play in creating new 'organic' ideologies which effectively depoliticise the bourgeois world view, it will be argued that the activities of London School Board women can only be understood by looking at both the sexual division of labour and the articulation of specific ideological interests.

The fact that education was a field in which women began to engage in public activity in the latter years of the nineteenth century, suggests a transfer of the authority and influence exercised by women in the private zone of the home, to the public arena of the Board. The issue of industrial schools is especially pertinent here as state recognition of reformatory and industrial schools not only marked a radical change in penal policy, but involved the assertion of new powers of state intervention in parent-child relationships. As Margaret May (1981) has shown, the segregation of the neglected and ill-behaved child was one result of the growth of a system of public education which provided only for the more tractable and fee-paying working class, and a system of public assistance that made no direct provision for child neglect.

4.2. The Notion of Compulsion

Given that what was new about the legislation of the 1870s was the extent of its operation, the struggle to enforce compulsory school attendance assumed a high profile for those involved in the initiation and moulding of provision for schooling. The notion of compulsion meant

the state had interfered with the pattern of working class life by coming between parent and child, reducing family income, and imposing new patterns of behaviour on both parent and child. (Hurt, 1979) As such it effectively accentuates the double-edged element of power or coercion underpinning relations between those in authority and those over whom they wielded that authority.

For many of those living in poverty, the issue of compulsion was more than a bone of contention shaping their relations with the Board. It was one that highlighted the inability of these predominantly upper middle class agents to comprehend the social realities structuring working class daily life. Whilst giving recognition to the great diversity of practice and belief encompassed by the term 'working classes', the depth and resilience of independent educational activity shows that the working classes were not hostile to, or apathetic about, elementary education per se. As Phil Gardner (1984) has argued, what many resented was the imposition of publicly sponsored elementary schooling which, unlike those independent educational practices continued in defiance of the law, was not attuned, in personnel, in atmosphere and in organisation, to the demands of working class culture.

To the majority of their representatives on the Board, largely of the wealthier classes and essentially concerned with the preservation of the status quo, the London board schools were to provide the means of socialising the working classes. While competing sets of beliefs, perceptions, propositions, values, grievances and aspirations articulated around the term 'education', a fundamental consensus existed

regarding the need to ensure that all working class children got into a school for some part of their lives. Most social commentators did not question the social system but were moralistic and policy-oriented leaving Board members generally agreed that the absence of proper parental care was most to blame for absenteeism. Hence the need for Industrial Schools, (based on the rehabilitative philosophy enunciated by Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill), was seen as having been created by the "the failure of parents to do their duty by their children." (Philpott, 1904, p.205)

Challenging moralistic explanations of absenteeism, Stephen Humphries (1981, p.1) offers an alternative, class-based interpretation wherein the development of a state educational system is seen as part of a complex process of class conflict, involving the resistance of working class youth to powerful attempts to inculcate conformist modes of behaviour through various bourgeois agencies of control, manipulation and exploitation. Citing truancy as an example of resistance behaviour or "the persistent rule-breaking and opposition to authority characteristic of working-class youth culture that has traditionally been viewed as indiscipline or delinquency," (p.63) Humphries identifies three principal forms of irregular attendance: opportunist, retreatist and subsistence. Since opportunists only took the occasional day off, whereas retreatist and subsistence truancy tended to be incessant and deeply ingrained, essentially provoked by a profound aversion to various aspects of school or poverty and social deprivation, it is these two forms which are of relevance here.

Irrespective of whether it provides a somewhat romanticised account wherein all oppositional behaviour is defined as resistance behaviour, the use of oral interviews does have the merit of giving a voice to a handful of those working class children burdened by the implications of Forster's Bill.

In the words of Bristolian Tom Radway, who occasionally truanted from school in the 1900s: 'We'd always be on the look-out for coppers on the beat or attendance officers on their bikes. They really put the fear of God in you 'cos they did the dirty work that had you sent to industrial school.

Humphries, 1981, p.69.

Adapting to irrevocable changes in the pattern of family life cannot have been easy but it is too simple to interpret the phenomenon of irregular attendance in terms of straightforward resistance to class-based repression. As Hurt (1979, p.212) so succinctly points out: "Parental attitudes were determined largely on practical, knife and fork criteria," making a rejection thesis based on political ideology hard to sustain.

Regardless of the underlying reasons for non-attendance, when teachers and school board visitors found themselves unable to secure acquiesce in the legal requirements, the Board issued a warning, called an 'A' notice urging defaulting parents to send their children to school. If this was unsuccessful a 'B' notice followed, in which the parent was required to attend a meeting of the Divisional Committee (see Chapter 2, endnote 4) to explain the reason for the child's absence. Often held at inconvenient times of day for the poor, they could be unpleasant occasions when parents tried to defend themselves before people who

probably belonged to a different social class and were either members or financial supporters of the COS. The latter was loathed by the working classes due to its over-riding concern to distinguish between the so-called deserving and undeserving poor. (see Annual Reports of the Kensington Committee for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity; Bosanquet, 1914) The setting and tone of the meetings were captured in the following observation: "The scene is a Board School classroom with three or four ladies and gentlemen seated at a table, to whom enters for an hour or more a stream of tired-looking mothers with an occasional father." (Philpott, 1904, p.91). If all warnings failed, Board members were left to decide whether to authorise a prosecution, resulting in the committal of some cases to an Industrial or Truant School.

Established under the Industrial Schools Act of 1866, Industrial Schools held children whose truancy was combined with homelessness, frequenting the company of criminals or beggars, being out of parental control or otherwise in need of care, whereas Truant Schools held persistent absentees whose attendance was unlikely to improve without a spell under strict supervision. Although length of stay was largely determined by behaviour, truant school children were allowed home 'on licence' after one to three months, whilst industrial school children were usually released for licensed residential employment at 14 or 15, but could be recalled (if necessary) until they were 16. Founded on the belief that in some cases the welfare of the child and public safety necessitated the separation of parent and child, the Board assumed parental as well as educational responsibilities. While parents were expected to

contribute to the maintenance of their children, in practice this must have been difficult to obtain, especially since some parents may have been only too pleased to get rid of difficult children who were also expensive to feed. The Board being warned of the need:

to be careful not to play into the hands of dissolute parents who are only too pleased to get their children clothed and fed at the public expense, the parents' contributions being generally but a fraction of the cost of keeping a child at an Industrial School, even if it is possible to enforce the payment at all.

Philpott, 1904, p.96.

Initially the Board exercised its power to aid existing Industrial Schools and send its own Industrial School cases to such schools, but finding that the number of cases soon exceeded the number of places, decided to establish a truant school of its own. (SBC, 9/4/1876, p.424) Significantly, the proposition was greeted with favour by all save the working class members, Benjamin Lucraft and George Potter, each of whom vocalised widely differing opinions. Whereas Lucraft voiced total opposition on the grounds that such schools interfered with the liberty of the subject, Potter did not object in principle but considered their establishment to be a duty which belonged to agencies other than school boards. (SBC, 9/4/1876, p.425) Despite failing to defeat the motion, Lucraft and Potter successfully moved an amendment that the proposal be referred to a special committee to prepare and submit to the Board a scheme for carrying out the recommendation to open such a school, although neither one of them was elected to serve on it.

Subsequently known as the Industrial Schools Committee, it was as a member of this committee that, following her election to the Board in

November 1876, Elizabeth Surr was to gain such a high public profile. Possibly reflecting a tendency for girls' non-attendance to be viewed as legitimate or ignored altogether, while boys' non-attendance was defined as truancy and severely dealt with, Board members decided their first truant school, Upton House, should be for boys only. Though according to Benjamin Lucraft the underlying reason for the exclusion of girls was that the school was to be run on the silent system which placed severe restrictions upon when inmates were allowed to talk in order to eliminate corruption! (SBC, 29/4/1876, p.81).

4.3. The Case of Upton House

Based upon a belief in the value of the short; sharp shock treatment, the fundamental purpose of schools like Upton House was to inculcate obedience: discipline; honesty; cleanliness and sobriety. Thus Margaret May (1981, p.276) makes the point that: "Diagnosis in terms of parental neglect facilitated concrete action. It mirrored current preoccupations with the supreme importance of the home and the family in child socialization." Initial opposition to the scheme largely centred around an alliance between Elizabeth Surr, Benjamin Lucraft and George Potter who, recognising that they were in the minority, adopted such delaying tactics as moving and seconding motions that debates on the issue be adjourned, seeking clarification on administrative procedures and opposing the appointment of staff. Benjamin clearly articulates his feelings on the issue, asserting that:

institutions like this were a disgrace to the country a device of

trying to keep down the lower strata of the people where they were now. This notion ... was all a notion of snobs - well, it might or might not apply to members of this Board. Better schools had superseded the ragged schools and these truant schools were a step backwards.

SBC, 28/7/1877, p.81.

Elizabeth's objections to the school are an expression of her concern over the boys' welfare, and don't necessarily stem from such a class-based perspective. Not only was she the first member to question both the kind of discipline to be enforced by the 'discipline master' (SBC, 15/12/1877, p.578) and the boys' diet but, with the support of two female colleagues; (Helen Taylor and Florence Fenwick Miller), she was largely responsible for uncovering the appalling mistreatment of boys in both this and St Paul's Industrial School.

In contrast to Benjamin Lucraft and Elizabeth Surr, neither Helen Taylor nor Florence Fenwick Miller were originally opposed to the establishment of such a school. Not only did Helen voice her opposition to the stand taken by Benjamin regarding the liberty of the subject, (SBC, 13/1/1877, pp 72-3) but Florence retained her belief that the principle upon which it had been founded was a correct one despite also supporting the campaign to uncover the truth about what was going on in both schools. Nevertheless, the stance taken by all three women on this issue provides an indication of the lengths to which they were prepared to go in defence of a moral principle they believed in.

Having opposed the school every step of the way, Elizabeth refused to be swayed even after the school had opened but continued to raise issues of concern, both at Board meetings and in her capacity as a member of the

Industrial Schools Committee. Working in a male-dominated environment in both instances, the only other woman on the Committee was Alice Westlake who did not offer any support for the line she was taking, she was very much a lone voice who must have rankled with fellow members as she persistently questioned the recommendations of their various reports.

As all her motions drawing the Board's attention to conditions in the school were being defeated, Elizabeth decided to take the initiative, turning firstly to her Finsbury constituents and secondly, when she was still unable to move the Board to action, to the Home Secretary - the man with overall responsibility. In the face of the list of charges which her letter contained, including allegations of cruelty and mismanagement, the Home Secretary insisted on an inquiry, thereby illustrating the way in which, lacking the authority within the Board, she had been forced to apply external pressure in order to get the Board to take action. Speaking in Elizabeth's defence to a largely unrepentant Board, Helen intimates that some of the hostility her colleague encountered reflected the difficulties of working in a male-dominated assembly. Paying tribute to her judgement, experience and common-sense, Helen informed members that:

She would not readily forget the scene ... when Mrs Surr entreated the Board to take into consideration the hardships undergone by the poor children at Upton House. Her protests were laughed to scorn, and it was upon such occasions that the value of a few simple feminine qualities were made patent. Taken at the very lowest, the report of the Special Committee was a tribute to the tact of Mrs Surr, and to her own good sense and judgement. The result was that the Board were obliged to own that there were serious grounds for complaint as to the management of this school.

SBC, 2/7/1879, pp 31-2.

The implication here is that the social processes through which power was asserted was gendered. Helen uses the occasion to make what appears to be a tactical appeal to the 'balancing' powers offered by the presence of women on the Board. Equating tact, good sense and judgement with femininity, it may be that Helen sought to build on existing ideas that the moral influence of women was of fundamental importance to the state and nation.

Appointed in May 1879, the Special Committee - including Alice Westlake and Elizabeth Surr - concluded that there were serious grounds for complaint since irregular punishments had been inflicted, without being entered in the punishment book. These included punishments which were not included in the schools' rules and regulations, such as the use of canes by subordinate officers and other violations which the majority report fails to specify beyond claiming that they did not involve 'systematic cruelty'. Elizabeth records her dissent, claiming that there was 'systematic cruelty' in lifting boys from the ground by their heads and ears; forcing those who were said to be of uncleanly habits to lie naked on the stone sink of the lavatory on early winter mornings with the cold water tap turned on them; punishing others by making them sleep on the iron bars of a bedstead for nine weeks and shutting one boy in a cupboard within a cupboard, without light or any provision for ventilation for at least one night. (SBL Minutes, 23/7/1879 pp 273-5) She also disagreed with their conclusion that the school was not operated on the 'silent system', under which boys were prohibited from other than essential conversation except for half an hour per day, during recreation. Her view was upheld by the Tory Home Secretary in a letter

to the Board dated 28th August 1879, in which he requests the Board to discontinue the practise which is in opposition to the understanding on which the school was established and certified as an ordinary industrial school. With Alice Westlake accusing the other women members of coaching parents to complain, Benjamin Lucraft was stung to retort that:

such treatment was only borne by the children because they were the children of the poor. Members denied cruelty because they belonged to another class. He knew this was so. The Board had no right to establish such schools. There ought to be an institution for kindness instead of having an institution for cruelty.

SBC, 26/7/1879, p.79.

The lack of parental complaints may be taken to illustrate how the state had come between parent and child, leaving concerned parents uncertain of how, where, or to whom they should complain. Authorised to impose sanctions on persistent truants, all too frequently Board members were left with the decision of whether or not to instigate court proceedings and leave a child facing the possibility of a custodial sentence. Given the circumstances, the parents of a mistreated child were unlikely to turn to those whom they may well have felt to be largely responsible for their child being in the institution in the first place, irrespective of the question of class difference involved. In reality, there was little else they could do other than approach the institution directly or go back to the magistrate who had imposed the sentence, neither of which would have appeared particularly attractive or likely to be especially effective. According to one mother whose complaint to the magistrates regarding her son's mistreatment at St Paul's Industrial School received press coverage, her son only suffered further punishment in that he was flogged for it. (SBC, 5/11/1881, p.464)

Despite having a small but loyal support base on the Board, Elizabeth Surr evidently occupied a minority position within both the Industrial Schools Committee and the Board as a whole, leaving her little alternative but to resort to pressure-group activity in order to try and force the Board's hand. Her actions were rewarded by the appointment of a new Governor, modifications to the timetable to allow longer periods of recreation and the purchase of new beds, their predecessors having been a mere eighteen inches wide! Eager to denunciate both her and her female supporters, opponents appeared ready to turn a blind eye to male supporters like Benjamin Lucraft, possibly reflecting the way in which the social relations of gender impinged upon power relations between colleagues serving on the Board. Given the conflict between gender prescriptions reflecting contemporary ideologies surrounding the sexual division of labour and authority in late-nineteenth century England, it is not inconceivable that contradictions between the women's self and public image exercised a constraining influence upon their public behaviour.

That female members did experience difficulties when trying to exert influence as members of controlling committees, may be illustrated by reference to a heated exchange in the course of a debate over Elizabeth's motion to appoint a small number of ladies and gentlemen as Visitors to each of the Board's Industrial schools. Without mincing his words, Lyulph Stanley voiced his objections to the proposal on the grounds that she and Miss Taylor were quite capable of concocting a committee who would overturn the discipline of the establishment. When Mrs Surr countered his objections by retorting that such a proposition

was only right and proper considering the scandal that had occurred at Upton House, he immediately questioned her judgement, undermining her position still further by his reponse to her comment regarding the 'ungentlemanly' quality of his remarks:

Mrs Surr was rather squeamish considering the epithets she often launched right and left whenever the Board discussed this subject. Mrs Surr and her supporters wanted a sort of holiday house instead of Upton House. She wished to give the boys sweets and toys. Such overkindliness of feeling totally unfitted persons from being the managers of a semi-penal establishment. The discipline of institutions of the kind must be reformatory.

SBC, 1/11/1879, pp 424-6.

Before this dispute over the management of Upton House, the two had been united in their opposition to what they and other members of the Board considered to be the excessive levels of expenditure upon the *Shaftesbury* training ship. The *Shaftesbury* was an industrial school established by the Board in 1878, on which boys were actively encouraged to develop a taste for life on the ocean wave on board a specially converted vessel in the hope that they would eventually join the navy. School-work was conducted on the half-time system, with the rest of the time devoted to industrial training - principally seamanship - and such extra-curricular activities as gun, rifle and cutlass drill. (LCC Report with regard to Industrial Schools, 1870-1904, p.53).

4.4. The Case of the Shaftesbury Training Ship

Although Benjamin Lucraft was the first to cast doubt over the levels of expenditure associated with the vessel, by querying members' travelling

expenses in July 1878, it was the same three women - Florence Fenwick Miller, Elizabeth Surr and Helen Taylor - who kept the issue in the public eye. Unlike the majority of their colleagues, the women refused to be swayed by arguments used to support the ever-increasing allocations of rate-payers' money to be spent on the ship and its tender. Hence in October 1878 the Board authorised the expenditure of a further £6000, the Industrial Schools Committee having exhausted the £28000 already voted, only to repeat the process three months later by voting a further £2000, despite the note of caution sounded by Elizabeth and Helen in an amendment recommending they wait to see the findings of the special committee appointed to inquire into levels of expenditure on the *Shaftesbury*.

Significantly, it was Lyulph Stanley who, having asked for and got such a committee established, was then appointed Chairman - a much more immediate and substantive reward for his actions than that achieved by Elizabeth in relation to her charges against the management of Upton House. Measuring power in terms of the ability to move successful resolutions, it is worth remembering that certain external attributes members brought with them to the Board may well have been particularly effective when it came to determining positions of power on the Board. Educated at Eton and Balliol, Lyulph Stanley was a peer of the realm and practising lawyer who served his apprenticeship in politics as an unsuccessful Liberal candidate at Oldham in 1872. By contrast, Elizabeth Surr was a doctor's daughter married to an eminent City merchant, writer of children's books and fervent Evangelical with no previous experience of public work. She did not in any way share the educational, familial

and political advantages which helped make Stanley such an authoritative figure.

Essentially, Elizabeth's difficulties in exerting authority in public are in keeping with the contradictory position she occupied within the conventional Victorian vision of the 'separate spheres' of paid employment for men and private domesticity for women. Dyhouse (1987, pp 26-7) has shown that the barriers which served to hedge middle class Victorian women into the home were particularly effective in the areas of finance and what she defines as public exposure generally. Hence while female Board members enjoyed a greatly enhanced social status, they were also "involved in a very complex task of negotiating gender constraints and social taboos in order to forge new roles for themselves" as publicly-accountable figures and recognised authorities. Irrespective of questions of status and authority, undoubtedly the issue of overspending would strike a more resonant chord among Board members than the possible mistreatment of recalcitrant working class children detained in a reformatory institution.

The debate over the *Shaftesbury* also accentuates the contrasting position occupied by one woman member - Alice Westlake - who, far from being in the rather isolated position of the other three in opposing official policy and being fairly consistently outvoted, was a trusted member of the Industrial Schools Committee - often presenting their Reports to be rubberstamped by the Board. Unlike the others, who proudly asserted their independence from the party machines, as the wife of a supportive and eminent Liberal QC, Alice had conventional Liberal

contacts and held orthodox Liberal views. As a result, she adhered strictly to the party line - placing party loyalty above her support for female colleagues. (SBC, 19/11/1881, p.516) Significantly, it is her housewifery skills which appear to have been especially prized by male colleagues, since it was she who had 'shopped around' to furnish the ship, superintended the cutting out and arranging of needlework materials and persuaded friends to help in supplying the embroidery. Despite growing public concern over what was fast developing into a financial scandal, Florence Fenwick Miller's attempt to secure the dissolution of the Industrial Schools' Committee was only supported by four members (including Elizabeth Surr and Benjamin Lucraft) with the result that those responsible retained their positions of authority upon the committee and the Board. (SBC, 22/3/1879, pp 270-1)

While such experiences may have been behind later allegations concerning the operation of an 'official ring' (see previous chapter), as using a caucus is fairly standard political behaviour, Florence's concern with the relationship between authoritative position-holders and those in their confidence may well be a reflection of her relative inexperience in the male political world. Whether it amounted to a rejection of the accepted rules of male-dominated politics as implied by Turnbull (1983, p.129) is open to question, although a later edition of the WPP would appear to support such an interpretation of the actions of these highly principled and assertive female members. Expressing regret at the attacks upon Augusta Webster by an unnamed member retiring from the Board, the paper has "no doubt that the public will support Mrs Webster's practical and wide-minded interpretation of party rule. The

days have gone by when an unintelligent and unconscientious party vote mechanically given is appreciated." (WPP, 17/11/1888, p.2).

4.5. The Case of St Paul's Industrial School

Undeterred by the majority line, Elizabeth remained keen to air her views on the subject of industrial school management whenever she felt there was a need for concern. Hence it was she who, still a member of the Industrial Schools Committee in 1881, was largely responsible for exposing the treatment meted out to boys incarcerated at St Paul's Industrial School. St Paul's was a private church school which received grants of public money and mainly London School Board children (1), and was owned by Thomas Scrutton, the new Chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee. (see Appendix Four) This fact was crucial as it somewhat undermined Stanley's claim that it was useless to blame the Board in such cases because the Board inspectors had no right of entry to such establishments! (SBC, 9/4/1881, p.343) Yet again Mrs Surr was treated with derision when she first attempted to raise the case of two boys held at the institution - with Mr Scrutton saying that he would "have the Governor of the school" for not sending a letter to the Home Secretary relative to their discharge - the boys having been declared unfit for industrial training. The allegations revolved around two areas of gross cruelty and mismanagement involving the reallocation of food intended for the boys to the Governor, his family and the rest of the staff, (resulting in the death of one boy from starvation); it seems further that insufficient clothing and footwear had resulted in cases of

chilblains so severe that one boy nearly had to have his toes amputated. The punishments meted out included having to stand half-naked in winter with bare feet on the cold stones washing sheets; being imprisoned for several days in the bathroom where it was so cold their cocoa froze, and the use of handcuffs and foot manacles. The likelihood being that the deaths of several weak boys had been hastened by their harsh treatment. (SBC, 8 & 15/10/1881, p.359, pp 377-9).

Once eight inmates set fire to the school a scandal became unavoidable, but Scrutton doggedly buried his head in the sand, persistently trying to evade the issue. Finding themselves in a majority at one Board meeting, in spite of Lyulph Stanley's opposition, Elizabeth and her supporters got through an amendment (by ten votes to six) that the Board remove the children sent by them to that school, and petition the Home Secretary to withdraw the schools certificate. (SBC, 8/10/1881, p.359) Nevertheless, the following week the disconcerted majority succeeded in getting the decision reversed on the grounds that *it had not been 'fair play'*, because the man at the centre of the allegations, Thomas Scrutton, had left the meeting before the issue was raised. (SBC, 15/10/1881, pp 377-9) Once again it took the intervention of the Home Secretary, now the Liberal Sir William Harcourt (see Appendix Four), to force the Board into an inquiry albeit one conducted by a special committee so heavily biased in favour of Mr Scrutton that Benjamin Lucraft, Henrietta Muller and Edith Simcox refused to serve. (These latter two women were elected for the first time in 1879). (SBC, 29/10, 1881, pp 426-7) Amidst confusion as to whether Elizabeth would be authorised to question witnesses or not, Helen Taylor dismissed the

Committee as 'a whitewashing committee', advising Elizabeth that:

if you can lay the facts before the public in any less laborious and equally effectual way, you may bring pressure to bear on the Board better than through such a sham Committee as it would be if you are precluded from asking in your own words such questions as you deem necessary.

Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Private Correspondence, 20/9/1881.

In the event the Board resolved the committee should follow procedures used in a court of law, with Elizabeth acting for the prosecution and Thomas Scrutton the defence. (SBC, 5/11/1881, pp 464-5) While some of their male colleagues lauded the women as "the champions of the outcasts of the metropolis" (SBC, 15/10/1881, p.378), others followed the lead set by Lyulph Stanley in arguing that, as enemies of the Board, the women were using the case to discredit their opponents. (Jones, 1979, p.32) In fact the school boards organ, the Chronicle, consistently aligned Mrs Surr with the so-called School Board party. It seems that the controversy legitimised displays of personal animosity, failing to give credence to Elizabeth Surr's very real concern for the issues at stake. (SBC, 21/10/1882, p.411) Even though it is difficult to attribute motives with absolute certainty, the stance adopted by Helen Taylor is clearly in line with her socialist political beliefs. As an Evangelical churchwoman, Elizabeth Surr's sympathy with the conditions endured by these boys may have reflected the language of Christian obligation to serve the poor, though it also had links with that philanthropic work which remained within the bounds of propriety and middle class women's sphere.

Amidst a glare of publicity, Thomas Scrutton brought an action for libel against Helen Taylor for having stated outside the Board that St Paul's was kept open for the sake of profit and that Mr Scrutton was morally guilty of manslaughter. Although a settlement was agreed, the plaintiff did not benefit financially since he was ordered to pay the costs of the case. (SBC, 15/7/1882, p.40) Unable to escape the censure of public opinion vocalised at mass meetings as at Mile-End Waste, Tower Hamlets, when about a thousand mostly working-class people called upon "the Chairman of this den of torture" to resign his seat upon the Board, he not only resigned his position as chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee but later his seat on the Board. (SBC, 15/11/1881, p.515) Irrespective of the Director of Public Prosecutions' decision regarding the lack of 'evidence' to support a criminal prosecution, the Home Secretary decided to close the school down and issue a Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, whilst acknowledging Elizabeth's role in a personal letter of thanks.

Despite having her actions vindicated in this way, albeit at tremendous personal cost, she decided not to stand for re-election as the Board faced the 1882 triennial elections. That she found the need to adapt to the essentially male atmosphere and conditions difficult is implied by the following editorial comment:

Mrs Surr takes an exaggerated view of the seriousness of the difficulties she has encountered. We wish she could find herself able to go on with the battle. This excellent lady, and some of the other lady members of the Board, have shown much lack of appreciation of the true elements and conditions of warfare in public life.

SBC, 21/10/1882, p.411.

The implication being that since the main areas of political action were clearly occupied by men, some female Board members found it difficult to operate both in a world organised on the assumptions of a man's life and accept the social role of men. While female Board members undoubtedly felt uncomfortable and out of place at times, difficulties were exacerbated on the 1879 Board which, as Rosamond Davenport-Hill later recalled when looking back upon her eighteen years on the Board, was not on the whole favourable to its lady members and showed but scant respect to their opinions. (Metcalfe, 1904, pp 71-2) Elected to the Industrial Schools Committee in January 1880, Rosamond soon earned a reputation for being a quiet but exceedingly active and successful member. Consistently supporting the Liberal programme, she avoided the opprobrium associated with involvement in the controversy over St Paul's, although she did help Elizabeth Surr investigate complaints about Brentwood Industrial School, where younger boys were detained. (SBC, 21/4/1883, p.387)

4.6. Public Image and Behaviour

What is significant about the contribution made by Rosamond Davenport-Hill in re-building the shattered reputation of the Industrial Schools Committee, is not so much what she was doing but the way in which it was interpreted. Not only did male Board members make good use of her undoubted experience in the field of industrial education, they also freely acknowledged the commitment demonstrated by an unbroken record of attendance at committee meetings, during her eighteen years on the Board. Nevertheless the image presented both during and after her

lifetime, characterised by its continual stress upon her 'motherly' qualities and such infamous 'feminine' attributes as reticence and skills like knitting (see preceding chapter), effectively demonstrates the conditions on which women were acceptable to men in public life.

While both she and Mr Spicer, Mr Scrutton's successor as chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, are credited with having achieved greater advance and improvement in this than any other department of the Board's work, in the eyes of the SBC: "The most satisfactory indication of her influence is her remarkable popularity with the Industrial School children." (10/10/1885, pp 361-3) It is her involvement with the boys at Brentwood Industrial School, sending one boy for a trip to the seaside, paying for trips to the zoo and giving them parties afterwards at her home, rather than her administrative abilities which her biographer and subsequent historiography have chosen to stress. While she may have been seen as the "friend and *mother* of the boys" who "inspired the whole staff *with a feeling of rectitude*" (Metcalf, 1904, p.86), she was also an educational policy-maker who firmly believed in the need for the stringent retraining programmes, based on religion and work, followed by institutions like Brentwood not to elevate the child but to prepare them for a life of unrelenting honesty and strenuous labour in their social station.

The instances chosen illustrate the relative importance of gender in shaping both the way in which women Board members operated and the way in which their actions were interpreted by both their male colleagues and a wider audience interested in, or affected by, the workings of the

London School Board. Clearly Board members with minority views had little power and were therefore obliged to use alternative means to get their message across. In one sense Board members shared an anomalous position, for while membership conferred an element of control, the Board also secured an element of control over them by incorporating them within its organisational structure.

Nevertheless, as the case of Upton House and St Paul's Industrial School made clear, it was possible for a small, self-motivated grouping to take up an issue and successfully pursue it using the only channel available to them, that is, reaching out to a wider audience than a potentially hostile one composed of fellow colleagues on the Board. Not only did these controversies provide the backdrop to a successful intervention by principled and assertive female representatives, I would argue that the question of industrial school management and organisation was to provide female Board members with an additional area within which to develop their expertise above and beyond that of the domestic curriculum.

In one sense, the success of Elizabeth Surr may be attributable to the fact that in appealing to public sensibilities with regard to allegations involving the question of cruelty to children she herself was demonstrating suitably 'motherly' qualities albeit in a more vocal manner than Rosamond Davenport-Hill. That her opinion was valued may be demonstrated by the fact that she was asked to give evidence before the 1882 Committee to Enquire into Reformatory and Industrial Schools, initiated by Sir William Harcourt. Nor was she alone in this, for the Home Office appointed a future female Board member - Margaret Eve (who

represented Finsbury from 1891-1904) as one of the Royal Commissioners to inquire into the management of industrial schools in 1895. (SBC, 25/5/1895, p.586) A member of staff at Croydon Girls' High School for seven years, (and, like Alice Westlake before her and Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Ruth Homan who served with her), Margaret was a strong supporter of the School Board policy. She was an efficient and active Board member, in spite of the contradictions inherent in her membership of a mixed public body in late-Victorian England. As one of her colleagues made clear, alluding once again to 'feminine reticence': "The silent, hard, conscientious committee work done by women as opposed to the blatant mouthing of the men on board days is most noticeable on large bodies. It is only at election time that words tell more than works." (Morten, 1899, pp 63-4)

The fact that these were institutions dealing with children whose parents had lost the right to bring their children up as they wished, may well have served to legitimise the activities of female Board members in this department of the Board's work, at least in terms of their public image and behaviour. Nevertheless in addressing the issue of the extent to which industrial education provided female Board members with an area in which to act to establish a place for themselves in the public sphere, it is essential to stress the contradictions involved. Spelling out the inherent tensions shaping women's self and public image, the same rationale of 'motherliness' was used to legitimise the actions of all female Board members, irrespective of their political stance on the subject of reformatory institutions.

Although the issue of the administration of industrial schools was not one uniting all the women, it can still be argued that it is possible to trace a consistent line of concern over the treatment of children in these schools amongst successive female Board members from Elizabeth Surr onwards. Created to reform those children characterised as being 'of the street Arab' type, even a male enthusiast found himself being forced to admit:

The only possible criticism one could make regarding the discipline of a Truant School is that it is a little too good. There is something almost uncanny in the grim stolidity of the boys, the stiffness and precision of their every movement. They have intervals for play - it is true - but for the greater part of the day they are under orders, performing every duty by word of command. Watch them, for example, coming to take their places in the dining-room for the afternoon meal. They march in single file and sidle along to their places with the short, rhythmic steps of soldiers 'closing up' on parade ...

Philpott, 1904, p.193.

Such descriptions help one understand Helen Taylor's wish to bring the boys on board the *Shaftesbury* under the "civilising influence of female teachers, instead of leaving them under the brutalising influence of old soldiers." (SBC, 17/12/1881, p.607) Others such as Ruth Homan sought to challenge the prevailing definition of reformatory treatment by supporting moves towards the use of day industrial schools. During the 1890s such proposals were opposed by a vociferous though decreasing minority of Board members on the grounds that they did not entail the child's total removal from 'haunts and associates' with exemplary substitutes for 'defective' parents and neighbourhood influences. As was pointed out, the moralising and corrective training was part of a deliberately adopted system aiming at a definite end:

the weakness of these boys has been their indolent, irregular ways

and unwillingness to submit to authority; therefore every possible means must be taken to inculcate habits of industry, regularity and obedience ... The Truant School is not a home, but a sanatorium for the morally infirm.

Philpott, 1904, p.194.

4.7. A Sanatorium for the Morally Infirm?

Some female Board members did challenge prevailing notions of reformatory treatment and whilst they could not effect policy changes, sought to mitigate some of the more punitive aspects by focusing upon the subject of corporal punishment. Consequently, an echo of Elizabeth Surr's concern was heard in 1898, when an attempt was made to obtain Home Office approval for the renewal of the power to use the birch on boys re-admitted to truant schools on the grounds that its abolition in 1894 had led to a large increase in such re-admissions. Once again a woman Board member - Ruth Homan - led the opposition with an amendment to give the 'recidivists' an extra dose of schoolroom work, as well as withdrawing them from the manual work, whilst Honnor Morten labels the advocates of the birch as 'birch-thirsty men'. Although Ruth Homan's amendment was defeated by sixteen votes to twenty, it received the support of all the sitting women members except for Mrs Maitland, who was herself responsible for ensuring that the motion was returned to the Industrial Schools Committee for consideration and report. (The Board Teacher, 1/4/1898, p.84)

When the subject was brought up again in December of that year, Honnor Morten and Ruth Homan formed an alliance in an attempt to eliminate the use of corporal punishment from all the Board's truant and industrial schools. Ruth Homan advancing the argument that "these children were so used to being knocked about in their homes that an entirely different treatment was needed for their salvation." (SBC, 17/12/1898, p.683) Not only does this engender developing notions concerning children 'in need of care and protection' it is also reminiscent of arguments advanced by Helen Taylor, one of the most outspoken critics of the use of corporal punishment in Board schools among the early female Board members. (see Chapter Five)

Ruth Homan's motion was watered down by a successful amendment moved by two male Board members, the Revd Russell Wakefield and the Revd Scott Lidgett, slanting the issue to the question of corporal punishment 'in public.' The amendment was carried and put into effect the following year despite the outspoken opposition of Honnor Morten and Mary Bridges Adams. Mary even resorted to the use of props on this occasion, bringing an example of what she claimed was the commonly-used instrument of birching, of the dimensions of a small besom, proceeding to describe the Board as 'blood-thirsty' rather than 'birch-thirsty.' (The Board Teacher, 1/3/1899, p.68) Sentiments which may well have struck a chord with the working class recipients of such punitive treatment:

'If you did anything wrong like stealing or anything like that you got birched. That birch was like a besom broom ... real birch. At the apex it'd be twelve to fourteen inches wide and tapered down. And this is what they birched you with. Drew blood - oh, it cut you ... I myself was birched because I played truant from there. When I first went there I was very unhappy and I played truant. Anyway they got me and they took me and I was sentenced to five strokes of

the birch. And the caretaker was a vicious old man called Paggin
... He did the birching and he took a delight in everything.'
Thompson, 1975, p.170.

Conclusion.

As the controversy over Upton House, the *Shaftesbury* and St Paul's Industrial School clearly demonstrates, nineteenth century women experienced considerable difficulties in exerting authority in public. Accentuating the fact that the most publicly acceptable style of authority women could adopt held strong overtones of 'motherliness', female Board members frequently resorted to the use of such language as a strategic ploy. Defending the right of married women Board school teachers to work, Florence Fenwick Miller made the following contribution to the debate over Elizabeth Surr's attempt to counter the introduction of a bar on married women Board school teachers whose children were under two years old. In a direct reference to the childless Alice Westlake who had instigated the proposed change in policy, she asserted that:

She (Mrs Miller) was thankful that this Board was not composed entirely of married ladies without children. It was the motherly eye of Mrs Surr that had discovered the deficiencies of Upton House and St Paul's School. The true womanly instinct and feeling and sympathy for children did not arise in a woman until she had had children of her own in her arms.

SBC, 26/11/1881, p.531.

Whether or not women Board members resorted to the use of such language in order to minimise any antagonism and hostility emanating from male

colleagues and a predominantly male electorate, its usage effectively encapsulated certain inherent tensions female Board members faced in attempting to secure their entry to the public sphere. In one sense such arguments were severely limiting for women since the use of a language of justification built around the need for a motherly contribution to the field of public education, also effectively implied an acceptance of the idealised conventional notion of separate spheres for men and women.

The interaction of gender and class was crucial to power relations in the field of elementary education and in society generally in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. While female Board members authority over working class parents and children derived in large measure from their social class, this was not true of relations with the majority of their male colleagues, though it may have been a factor shaping alliances with working class men like Lucraft and Potter. Such relationships are complex, but crucial to any consideration of the extent to which the actions of London School Board women were those of class intellectuals, legitimating, 'mystifying', and reinforcing the power and prestige of the dominant groups in society. Even though it is possible to trace a consistent line of concern over the treatment of children in reformatory schools, it is difficult to assess the extent to which this constituted a truly oppositional 'counter hegemony' that was not incorporated into the dominant culture. As the stance adopted by female Board members on both the formal curriculum and the industrial schools reveals, a shared experience as women entering a male space, did not transcend political differences in terms of both feminism and party politics.

Whether or not it was a strategy they consciously adopted, or whether they themselves wanted to challenge the existing gender order, by coming forward for election to a public body female Board members were "taking one step beyond the old idea of what is womanly work." (Shafts, November and December 1894, p.349) The very fact that women could be elected to public office and gain official recognition for their actions when holding positions of responsibility and public accountability, prompted Henrietta Muller's self-confident assertion that:

Women like Mrs Elizabeth Surr ... leave their mark on our day. They create a type - the hard-headed and large-hearted woman who has a keen scent for 'a job', who routs out dirty corners, is beloved by the people and detested by the official.

WPP, 10/11/1888, p.4.

ENDNOTES.

1. Under the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854, voluntary societies were authorised to establish reformatory schools with the necessary powers of compulsory detention, industrial schools being added three years later. Schools were governed by the 'Managers', the body of subscribers who framed their school's rules, but they had to be certified satisfactory by the Home Secretary who could veto any rules he thought undesirable and withdraw certification if the Managers, after due notice, failed to meet any request with regard to the modification of their rules. Wherever possible, parents were required to make some financial contribution to the upkeep of their children whilst in the school, those who had committed a crime having to serve a fourteen days' period of imprisonment, as an expiation for their crime before being remitted to the custody of a reformatory. (Pinchbeck and Hewitt, 1973, p.477.)

CHAPTER FIVE

MORALISING THE POOR? ATTITUDES TO WORKING CLASS CHILDREN IN SCHOOL 1870-1904

5.1. INTRODUCTION

As the debate over reformatory institutions for persistent truants made clear, in pragmatic terms, simply meeting the needs of accommodation and provision was not enough. Faced with stark economic realities embodied by underfed and impoverished school children, successive school boards for London found themselves having to re-define their educational remit in the light of broader social welfare concerns. This chapter traces the process by which female Board members re-considered their response to the social and economic problems facing certain sections of the working classes.

In trying to understand the nuances of their position, the perceptions of female Board members will be related to the wider social, economic and political context through a consideration of social issues which may well have been seen as peripheral to the provision of a basic form of schooling per se. The notion of women as educational policy-makers and administrators is explored by reference to their attitudes towards working class children in school. In examining the issues of compulsory attendance, schoolfees, school meals and the propagation of specific social values like self-discipline, temperance and thrift, it will be argued that the collectivism of the London Board became a model for those permissive welfare measures that followed the establishment of a state educational system in 1902.

5.2 In Loco Parentis?

During the thirty-four year lifetime of the Board, members were involved in a process of first constructing, and then appealing to the reasonable parent primarily through claiming to stand *in loco parentis*. Essentially an ideological formula deriving from ideas about parental rights, as Shaw (1981) points out, it attempted to impose middle class standards of child-rearing on working class parents. The concept permitted a substantial encroachment on parental freedom. Whilst mass schooling offered limited possibilities for individual development, social mobility, and political and economic power, of far greater relevance for the over-whelming majority of working class children were the implications schooling held for various forms of social relations. Increased intervention on the part of public bodies not only held implications for those in authority but the parents and children with whom they dealt. As Sir Charles Reed (the second chairman of the London School Board) admitted in 1874, social and economic realities held educational implications:

Of the school work and its results I do not say one word. It is too soon altogether to speak upon the question. Tens of thousands of children are in our schools who are, I regret to say, grossly ignorant and utterly uninstructed, and the only thing we can do is to look to their cleanliness and give them habits of order, and promote their regular attendance, and then leave the question of results.

Gautrey, n.d., p.91.

Corroborating Reed's statement, Board member Thomas Gautrey recalled that inspections for cleanliness and tidiness took precedence over other activities at the London board school in which he taught. Boys who did

not reach 'a fair standard' in the playground inspection were either sent to the school washbasins before entering the classroom or, in the worst cases sent home. Since this was their working environment, teachers had a vested interest in establishing standards of cleanliness. When 'Board school laryngitis' caused concern during the 1880s, aside from the voice strain induced by large and noisy classes, its development was attributed to "air reeking with the stench of pupils' dirty skin and clothes." (Gautrey, n.d., p.119) Aside from life-threatening contagious diseases, a frequent source of conflict stemmed from the discovery that many children's heads were infested with lice. Many parents resented the judgemental labelling associated with what was perceived as an unwarranted interference on the part of certain school staff:

I should like to know how much more spite you intend to put upon my child for it is nothing else. First, you send the Sanitary Inspector and I have my home taken away, then my husband has to get rid of his few rabbits and chickens, and now you cut the few hairs my girl was just beginning to get so nice. I think you had better hang her and be done with it. I know she had no need to have her hair off as it was washed with soft soap last night. The child is thoroughly heartbroken.

Gautrey, n.d., pp 91-2.

In keeping with the predominant acceptance of the existing social and economic structure of late-Victorian and Edwardian England, Gautrey adopted an individualistic response to the social problems entering his classroom. Questions of poverty became transposed into questions of dirt in a form of victim-blaming with working class mothers seen as the chief culprits:

One potent incidental effect of the Education Act was the beneficent influence on the homes in the slum areas. The enforcement of habits of regularity and cleanliness reacted on the

parents. The mothers especially were gradually forced to overcome their own slothful tendencies, and their own toleration of dirt.
Gautrey, n.d., p.91.

In such circumstances the ideological construction *in loco parentis* effectively legitimised a whole range of interventionist measures above and beyond that of simply removing children from parental control for a certain portion of the day.

As women in public, female Board members trod an uncertain path that had to be negotiated with care. To assert that their object was to serve the children of women who were less fortunate than themselves provided a socially acceptable means of breaking down the prejudice in a world of local government, hitherto dominated by men. As the example of women who supported the expansion of the domestic curriculum for girls revealed, women on the London Board could and did develop areas of expertise upon which to build a power base, albeit in areas synonymous with conventional sex-role stereotyping. The practical and philosophical concerns of female Board members will be considered in relation to the wider social and political context, exploring the way in which the women's conception of education as social welfare was influenced and shaped by the aspirations of politics and philanthropy.

5.3.Serving the Poor?

Despite Henrietta Muller's self-confident assertion quoted at the end of the previous chapter, female Board members were keenly aware of the fine

line they were treading by participating in local politics. Drawing upon personal experience, Florence Fenwick Miller felt that: "Speaking in public was the very head and front of our offending. It was in the last degree 'unsexing', 'forgetting the proper delicacy of womanhood', 'shrieking for our rights', and so forth." (Woman's Signal, henceforth just WS, 4/1/1894, p.4) Though if Jane Chessar's obituary is accepted at face value, it would appear that such individual personal qualities as "zeal and intelligence" were extremely effective in disarming "the opposition of those critics who considered the office too 'public' a one for a woman to hold with propriety." (The Athenaeum, 18/9/1880, p.370)

Claiming that it was the duty of women to take an interest in the well-being of their parish, feminist periodicals accentuated the links between successful and orderly management of such local issues as the nurture and education of children, and the internal prosperity of the country. Prospective candidates should be "conscientious and religious" women, motivated by the "simple straightforward wish to do good in the most effectual manner." (EWR, 15/5/1879, p.211) Inevitably such women bore added responsibilities because of their 'pioneering' status:

If a man fails, the blame is attributed to himself alone, if a woman has shortcomings, the general voice somehow attaches the responsibility to her whole sex. It is, however, with reason that we set up a higher standard of moral qualifications for women candidates, as we believe that their influence is specifically wanted to refine and elevate, to bring something of the tenderness and the purity of feeling found in our home into social politics.
EWR, 15/5/1879, pp 211-2.

Rather than take such rhetoric at face value, however, it should be recognised that the use of language reminiscent of the notion of

separate spheres may have been a strategic ploy on the part of those wishing to justify the entry of women to the public sphere. While Honnor Morten (member for Southwark 1897-1900 and Hackney 1900-1902) referred to the "spirit of service" women devoted to the poor, it was obviously advantageous to undermine the "shrieking sister" tag by reference to suitably 'feminine' qualities during an electoral campaign. (Morten, 1899, p.84; WS, 4/1/1894, p.4)

Nevertheless, the link up between the supposed moral qualities of women and their potential to 'refine and elevate' is deeply suggestive of the class differentiated rationale underlying the provision of elementary schooling for the working classes. It was, after all, middle class women who were being appealed to here since at the very least working class women were unlikely to be possessed of ample leisure, even if qualified to stand for election as ratepayers of the requisite amount. The belief in the capacity of middle class women to contribute to the process of social improvement through moral regeneration exemplified the new approaches to philanthropy in child welfare, workhouse living conditions and model housing, pioneered by such outstanding individual women as Mary Carpenter, Louisa Twining and Octavia Hill. (see Appendix Three)

A founder member of the COS (see Chapter Two, Endnote Five), Octavia Hill's 'model dwellings' exemplified that organisation's hard-headed reforming ventures in the sense that it ought to 'rescue' the deserving poor from vice and crime by offering sound housing and strictly supervised living conditions. A conception of social progress founded on individual personality manifested itself in the definitive criterion of

aid-worthiness, with the principles of segregation and differentiation becoming the 'tools of the trade'. The links between women's involvement in such philanthropic activities in response to the growing recognition of widespread poverty, inadequate housing, and social dislocation brought about by industrialization and urbanization clearly held implications for the role played by women on the Board.

That this conception of their 'missionary' role was not confined to prospective Board members, is brought out in the evidence given by one of the female witnesses appearing before the Cross Commission on Elementary Education (1886-8). Asked to consider whether she has "set up a centre of humanising influence in one of the worst parts of London" Mrs Burgwin headmistress of the Orange Street School (see Appendix Three), asserts:

You could hardly in years gone by bring a person down that street without a blush of shame; the people did not think of putting window blinds up; they pitched everything out of the windows into the street regardless of passers-by ... Some Christmasses ago I sent a new short curtain to every house to give it a bright appearance for Christmas Day, and now the people feel a sense of shame in various ways. If they attempt to come near you dirty they would even apologise. I know that in many instances a woman will borrow a neighbour's apron to come and speak to me so that she may come up looking clean. I felt it my duty to tell her that she should have enough self-respect to wash her face before she came to see me.

Cross Commission 1886-8, Evidence of Mrs Burgwin, p.121.

That the ethos of personal help as a means of moralising the poor was imbibed by certain Board employees, as well as Board members, is significant for the broader social implications attached to elementary education. like other interventions into the lives of the working classes, education offered its recipients the possibility of 'self-

improvement' through individual effort. Those who failed to rise into respectability, as conceived by the middle class reformers, were felt to be incapable of moral regeneration. For the majority of Board members, coming from the property-owning and professional ranks of the middle classes and essentially concerned to reinforce and perpetuate the status quo, the London board schools were a means of socialising the 'rough' working classes. By highlighting aspects of the educational system that otherwise often seem peripheral, it is possible to trace the emergence of a continuum between individualised solutions to social problems and a more general concept of education's role as social welfare. The attitude of female Board members towards working class children in school will be explored by looking at the issues of compulsory attendance, schoolfees, school meals, and the propagation of specific social values like self-discipline and thrift.

5.4. Compulsory Attendance

Under the Act of 1870, school boards were empowered to make their own bye-laws relating to school attendance and appoint attendance officers to pursue those evading the regulations. Despite a public opinion in large part hostile to compulsion, lack of schools, and a small and inexperienced administration, the scheme devised by a special committee of the Board had received official approval by December 1871. Because Section 74 of the Act of 1870 made mandatory a system of half and full-time exemption for children aged 10 to 13, the London bye-laws kept children at school at least half-time until the age of 13. To qualify as

a 'half-time' scholar a child had to show that s/he was 'beneficially and necessarily at work', and so reduce attendance to ten out of twenty-five hours, though in 1879 the requirement became five of the ten weekly attendances. As many of the London trades had a high incidence of cyclical unemployment, fluctuating though always constrained economic circumstances ensured the employment of children remained an essential part of the lives of the very poor. The 1833 Factory Act only prohibited the employment of children under nine in factories and textile mills, and despite provisions for government inspection, evasion was widespread. For a factory inspector attempting to cover East London it was like looking for a needle in a haystack amongst the multitude of small workshops and sweating dens making ample use of such cheap labour. The situation was exacerbated because the reformation of the poor law in 1834 around the principle of less eligibility meant that:

The independent poor had been caught by the nineteenth century version of the poverty trap. They were not so poor that they had to look to the poor law guardians for succour. On the other hand they were poor enough to have to send their children to work to avoid the poorhouse.

Hurt, 1979, p.36.

Material hardship was compounded by the fact that Board schools were legally obliged to charge fees, and could only remit fees for periods of up to six months if parents pleaded poverty. Despite the size of the fines imposed in the event of a successful prosecution for non-attendance, parents could often gain more money from their children's employment than they lost through fines.

Non-attendance was especially marked amongst girls, for not only was their average attendance consistently lower than that of boys, it was also more irregular due to the fact that they were often expected to help at home with other younger children, on washdays, and if their mother worked, was ill or having a baby. Not surprisingly, the growth of the domestic curriculum led some mothers to question the value of the education their daughters were receiving and to respond by keeping them off school in the belief that they could learn such things at home. Social commentators pointed to a differentiation in parental expectations and worldly assessments of the utility of formal schooling, reflected in a tendency for girls' non-attendance to be viewed as legitimate or ignored altogether, whilst boys' non-attendance was defined as truancy and severely dealt with. George Bartley informed readers of the Journal published by the Women's Educational Union (1), that many authorities were applying double standards when dealing with truancy in this period:

the authorities of the School Board's are severer in the case of boys absenting themselves from school than they are with girls. A sort of innate feeling, indeed, exists that school after all is more important to the boy than to the girl, so that if one must stay at home, of course it must be the girl, consequently we feel that the ill-effects of this evil, of a want of regularity of attendance will fall unevenly on the two sexes of the community.

Bartley, 15/5/1875, p.98.

As the previous chapter argued, the notion of compulsion exemplified a growing state intervention in the pattern of working class life. In this context the ideological formula *in loco parentis* simply became an additional weapon in the struggle to establish educational authority. Initially utilised on the grounds that the welfare of the child and

public safety necessitated the separation of parent and the incipient criminal or neglected child deemed 'beyond parental control', the formula effectively legitimised the Board's efforts to secure compulsory attendance. Adapting Shaw's (1981) argument that the formula illustrates the way in which the state exploits the parent-child relationship in order to maintain educational authority, it becomes apparent that whilst in principle the bye-law requiring school attendance ignored existing social divisions amongst the working classes, those who interpreted it did not.

As Booth (1891) discovered, a growing residential segregation in society generated a hierarchical grading of schooling based on an officially approved graduated fees structure ranging from 1d to 9d per week. Tensions over the issues of compulsion and school fees are used to illustrate the ways in which female Board members responded to the economic realities shaping the lives of the very poor. I will argue that the social, economic and political conditions of the 1880s (see Introduction, Section 2.2.), resulted in a growing willingness to acknowledge the fact that welfare aspects of schooling were not residual requirements, but an integral part of the developing system of elementary provision.

5.5. 'Pauperising the Poor?' - The Issue of School Fees

Though difficult to generalise between representatives of the 'economical' and 'Church' party, what became known as the 'Progressive'

party, and Labour and socialist Board members, the first grouping adopted the most rigid position on the issue of fees. Such Board members opposed moves to remit fees on the grounds that they would 'pauperise' the masses and undermine the position of the church schools who did not have the necessary financial resources to subsidise such schemes. Although Progressives were increasingly ready to support more humanitarian impulses, many Board members remained firmly wedded to a moralistic attitude towards the poor which virtually denied poverty as a cause of absenteeism.

Inevitably the question of the 'schoolpence' raised problems of definition and classification. The majority of Board members saw the main determinants of non-payment as an inability on the part of 'rough' working class parents to appreciate the importance of regular attendance, lack of self-control and perseverance, and neglect due to intemperance, apathy and recklessness. Hence Elizabeth Garrett Anderson vigorously opposed a proposal that, for a renewable period *not exceeding* six months, the Board pay all or part of the school fees of children whose parents were, in their opinion unable to do so from poverty.

According to her, such a scheme:

might lead to a stimulation of pauperism ... it would be subsidising improvidence ... the money wasted in the public-house would pay for the children's pence several times over ... the most truly humane policy would be to direct the managers of the schools to remit no fees, except in the case of widows who had several children to educate, and children whose fathers were permanently disabled, and *possibly in the case of paupers*. (My emphasis)

SBC, 22/4/1871, p.298.

Garrett Anderson's arguments are clearly reminiscent of the COS argument

that 'indiscriminate charity' would undermine the self-respect of the poor and encourage them to seek hand-outs rather than work.

Acccentuating the parallels, Jane Lewis makes the point that: "regular payment of fees was part and parcel of the discipline of school life but was imposed on the parent rather than the child, much as Octavia Hill's insistence on the regular payment of rent in her tenement was designed to inculcate regular habits." (1982, p.299) Clearly formally structured aspects of the school day were being used as part and parcel of a wide-reaching attempt to bring about changes in the values and codes of behaviour which operated within working class families.

While Garrett Anderson upheld the principles of 1834 by seconding motions to limit the remission of fees of schoolchildren with able-bodied fathers, Emily Davies wanted to keep help with the payment of fees personal and individual. In Emily's opinion, those 'extreme' cases who were unable to pay the fees were best helped by:

private aid, given as much as possible in the way of personal friendliness. I think this would be much better than incurring the delay and the vexatious, almost inquisitorial investigation, that is necessary before assistance can be given from public funds.

Papers of Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon, ED/SBL

Contending that it was not the duty of the Board 'to act with malice aforethought' and effectively consign families to the workhouse, the editor of the SBC leaned towards Emily's position. Supporting the Board's decision not to devise a code of rules limiting the payment or remission of fees of children with able-bodied parents, he concludes: "The course marked out for the Board under the Act is very simple. They

have to consider whether a parent is unable from poverty to pay fees, in going beyond that they exceed their province."(<u>SBC</u>, 10/5/1873, p.304)

Aside from the issue of the remission of fees, the legal requirement on the Board to charge fees also provided an unofficial means of 'grading' Board schools by a process of exclusion that reflected the scale of fees charged. Hence when Charles Booth conducted the first of his social surveys in 1889-90, he was able to classify the elementary schools in accordance with the poverty-comfort spectrum identified within the population of London as a whole. (see Marsden, 1985) Far from stereotyping the working classes as an undifferentiated mass, Booth made explicit the distinction between the 'residuum', those in 'want' (category B) and 'distress' (category A), and the remainder of the 30.7% he found in poverty. Of the 69.3% in comfort, categories E/F were defined as those in 'working class comfort', category G as the lower middle class, and the servant-keeping class, category H. As Marsden (1985, p.128) makes clear: "This servant-keeping criterion formed one of the most clear-cut discontinuities in the whole social spectrum. It was reflected by the fact that category G families often used the higher-status elementary schools while category H did not."

Defending this class-differentiated conception of children's educational needs with reference to the differentiated fees mechanism in his division of Tower Hamlets, Thomas Scrutton admitted that he would rather pay the fees of ragged school children himself than have them pass through the portals of London's Board schools. Asserting that "he hardly ever saw a parent who did not show, absolutely by her dress, that she

was able to pay the fees of her children," Scrutton concluded that "it was a great mistake to suppose that the East-end was poor." (SBC, 28/6/1879, p.608) Whilst his vociferous assertions that both he and the other divisional members opposed the remission of fees acquires added significance in light of the subsequent abuses at St Paul's Industrial School. Hard on the heels of Lyulph Stanley's declaration that "he had never beheld a more magnificent exhibition of impenitence in his life," Helen Taylor perceptively undermined the circularity of Scrutton's argument. Accepting his point that no doubt there were rich people in the East End of London, she rhetorically begged the question of what exactly that proved by summing up for herself: "the schools built by the ratepayers were used by himself and his fellow members for the well-to-do class of society." (SBC, 28/6/1879, p.609)

By contrast to the avowedly class differentiated attitude espoused by Thomas Scrutton and his supporters on the Board, Independent Labour representatives urged dispensing with fees altogether. Helen Taylor's principal concern was to alleviate material hardship, as she told a meeting of her constituents in 1877, in a direct reference to the lowest scale of fees charged:

The gentlemen of the Board, large, tall and full-fed ask, 'What is a penny?' I would think that they should spend one week of their lives on the amount which is brought week after week into the homes of some of our scholars.

Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Newscuttings, 11/12/1877.

Refusing to support the Board in its policy of sanctions in favour of compulsory attendance so long as school fees remained, Helen consistently sought a more generous policy on remissions. Moving that

the Bye-Laws Committee be instructed to take rent into account, she sought to establish a scale of income below which remission should be always granted:

She apologised for occupying the time of the Board with a question so unimportant as the needs of twenty or thirty thousand poor families in London, but she should never scruple to express her opinion of the cruelty of the Board in this matter ... the heavy oppression which the Board were practising on these starving members of the population was a question which she would bring again and again ... she brought the question forward in the hope of alleviating some portion of the suffering of her fellow creatures.
SBC, 2/4/1881, p.320.

Despite the logic of Helen's argument that the Board lost as much in the arrears they had to cancel, as would be lost by a more liberal policy of remission, the majority of her colleagues failed to move beyond an individualistic conception of social problems. Consequently, the pleas of independent labour representatives that educational endowments be applied to the remission of abolition of school fees fell on deaf ears.(2) Helen Taylor and Henrietta Muller were among the few to make explicit the underlying hypocrisy of arguments that to abolish or remit fees would 'pauperise' the working classes, in view of the not infrequent diversion of these educational endowments to subsidise middle class schools. Arguing that "free education would reduce the numbers sent to industrial schools, gain a large increase in the Government grant, enhance greater regularity of attendance and increase the numbers in average attendance," Henrietta wondered if free education "pauperised the rich, who frequently accepted it at Eton, Harrow, and elsewhere."(SBC, 22/4/1882, p.375)

Moving beyond a pathological interpretation of life in the metropolitan slums, for these two middle class women sympathy and empathy coalesced within a philosophy that regarded free schooling as a means of redress in the face of gross disparities in social opportunity. Making explicit the pervasive concern with segregation and classification, Henrietta:

did not see how they could distinguish between those who were poor through their own fault and those who were poor not through their own fault ... the remedy was to educate the children as much as possible, and to remove every obstacle that stood in the way of their education.

SBC, 22/7/1882, pp 53-4.

The underlying tensions of gender and class may be illustrated by the fact that Benjamin Lucraft did not share her opinion. An advocate of free schooling, he feared nevertheless that limited numbers of free schools "would herd all the worst children together, and the children of the honest poor would be obliged to mix with them." (SBC, 15/7/1882, pp 29-31) Consequently, even though the payment of schoolpence hindered the enforcement of compulsory attendance, the Board refused to put into effect Section 26 of the 1870 Education Act allowing the establishment of free schools in special cases. Henrietta tried unsuccessfully to minimise differentiation between the attendance of working class girls and working class boys by moving that a system of rewards be established, but until the election of Annie Besant in 1888, she and Helen were the only women to challenge the Board's position on the question of fees.

The way in which Henrietta and Helen prioritised the question of fees may well have reflected the fact that as members for Lambeth and

Southwark, both women represented division containing ratios of up to 75 per cent poverty. (Booth, Vol.1, 1891, 36) This was in stark contrast with Marylebone, the only School Board division to have a record of continuous female representation during this period, whose average of 26 per cent contained ratios ranging from 13.5 per cent to 30.4 per cent. (Booth, Vol.1, 1891, Appendix, Table 2) During the 1880s, Alice Westlake and Rosamond Daveport-Hill supported and moved motions to tinker with the system regarding the collection of schoolfees, but their concern stemmed from the disruption to the schoolday of the poorest class of children, whom they felt to be in most need of education. (SBC, 30/6/1888, pp 669-70) Reminiscent of contemporary concern with the acknowledgement of poverty as an indisputable cause of irregular attendance, irrespective of distinctions on the basis of 'aid-worthiness'.

The success of the Socialists Annie Besant and Stewart Headlam in persuading members of the seventh Board to substantively alter their position by supporting a resolution recommending the introduction of free education 1890, reflected the changing economic and political factors of the late-1880s. Firstly, the co-existence of rising living standards for some with rising unemployment for others amongst the working classes, and secondly, a period in which political attention was increasingly focused on 'social questions'. The decision to abolish school fees represented a pragmatic response to demonstrations of resistance by sections of the working classes, on the part of a Board whose members found themselves inescapably drawn towards a broader definition of educational policy and social welfare than the mere

provision of a basic form of schooling. It received the parliamentary seal of approval when the then Conservative government bowed to pressure from the Trade Union Congress and the Liberal opposition, in passing the Free Education Act in 1891.

5.5. Free Meals

Unlike free education the issue of free meals did not enter School Board politics until the S.D.F., then simply the Democratic Federation, first advocated free meals in 1883. Once again, it was an issue adopted by all socialist candidates following in the footsteps of Helen Taylor, but also engaged the interest of other women, motivated by rather different reforming impulses.

As with school fees, attitudes towards the question of dinners for school board children reached a turning point during the 1880s, previous to which the part played by public administration had been a small one. Referring to an Act of 1868 enabling a Board of Guardians to institute proceedings if a parent wilfully neglected to provide adequate food for her/his child, Benjamin Waugh (Board member and founder-director of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) stated:

First, that the Guardians do not act upon it to any great extent; secondly, that the police know that it is not their business; and they do not act upon it; and, thirdly, the public have an impression that they are excluded from taking cognisance of starvation cases because the term used is 'the Guardians shall' do it.

House of Lords Select Committee on Poor Law Relief, 1888.

Significantly, the cases in which he claims that Guardians do habitually act upon it are "chiefly where ladies are upon the board." (House of Lords Select Committee on Poor Law Relief, 1888, Questions 5857, 5858) Under the 1876 Education Act school boards could establish Day Industrial Schools, providing common feeding albeit on the basis of a parental contribution, but despite vigorous campaigning by Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Ruth Homan the first Day Industrial School under the auspices of the London Board did not open until 1895.

From 1885, when Amie Hicks (see Appendix Three) stood as the first Social Democratic candidate in Marylebone, socialist candidates were pledged to support "free education at the cost of the Imperial revenue, and the provision of at least one meal a day for the children in Board schools." (SBC, 3/10/1885, p.328) Though the Board refused to implement these calls, voluntary initiatives continued to gain momentum. By exploring the attitudes of female Board members towards the feeding of school children, it becomes possible to consider the links between public office and private philanthropy in a new light. Given that the role of female Board members and school managers was crucial to this voluntary effort, the issue clearly reveals the tensions of gender and class in a broader educational setting. As members of the middle classes, these women were able to establish themselves as authority figures within the field of welfare provision by virtue of their cultural and material capital, which effectively set them apart from their working class constituents and the children attending the elementary schools under their care.

Both in terms of financial support, and as organisers of the various agencies concerned, the role of women was crucial. In keeping with the criterion of 'aid-worthiness', the 'self-supporting' meal was looked upon as the most desirable form of provision. A questionnaire sent to local managers' by the Committee of Representative Managers of London Board Schools on the subject of cheap dinners for destitute scholars was prefaced by a stated "wish to supply this want without *pauperising* the parents." (my emphasis) Significantly, one of these 'representative' managers was Sarah Ward Heberden (see Appendix Three), member of the COS and Honorary Secretary of the Self Supporting Penny Dinner Council. The extent to which mechanisms for provision were pervaded by the dominant philosophies of the COS may be seen in a report produced by a committee representing the various voluntary societies, considering ways of achieving co-operation. The policy advocated being that free dinners should only be given on the head teachers recommendation, and when given a register should be kept with details of the families' circumstance including their "name, address, age, number of children in family, parental occupations, if father out of work, if so, for how long." (SBC, 19/11/1887, p.553)

Motivated by a very different philosophy, Annie Besant first raised the free meals question in the National Reformer in December 1884 but was met by widespread reproof. Changes in public opinion will be illustrated by reference to the fact that by 1888, both the Metropolitan Radical Federation and the Fabian Society endorsed the socialist programme calling for provision of one free meal per day for all children who desire it. (see Rubinstein, 1970, pp 3-24) While few failed to recognise

the absurdity of trying to educate a hungry child, the mechanism for meeting the need remained controversial. Prevailing Liberal policy continued to favour individualist solutions that were at variance with the collectivist approach endorsed by Annie Besant. In her opinion: "charity degrades and pauperizes, whereas the Free Meal, provided by the community and taken as of right, would no more pauperize than does a walk in a Free Park or a visit to a Free Museum." (Justice, 24/11/1888)

Though the London School Board could not authorise the supply of free meals at public expense, the return of Board members pledged to support the policy ensured the issue retained a high profile. Less than two months after her election, Annie Besant seconded a motion that the School Management Committee investigate the numbers of children coming to school hungry, the voluntary bodies providing cheap or free meals, and how the Board could co-ordinate the provision. (SBC, 26/1/1889, pp 86-70) Focusing on the ensuing debate, the contributions made by three of the four female Board members, Annie Besant, Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Margaret Ashton-Dilke, are indicative of the political philosophies underlying the attitudes involved. In contrast to Annie's calls for a petition to Parliament to amend the powers of the Board, Rosamond asserts that:

At the risk of appearing hard-hearted she must say she did not like all this feeding of the children. They all wished that all the children should have enough to eat, but the more they fed the children in this indiscriminate way the more children they would have to feed.

SBC, 26/1/1889, pp 86-7.

As this speech reveals, she was a clear opponent of indiscriminate

charity but firm advocate of the need to differentiate between the deserving and undeserving poor. Consequently she focused her efforts on institutions and social policies designed to reform the poor through educational 'improvement', such as the development of cookery centres for working class girls and reformatory institutions for recalcitrant children of both sexes. The stance adopted by Margaret Ashton-Dilke is significant because of the distinction she draws between private philanthropy and the work of the School Board:

She did not wish that a body elected for educational purposes should have thrown on its shoulders the vast question as to whether the State should support the population or not. It was for the State to make up its mind on that point, and if they decided that it was their duty to feed the populace she thought the work would be much more within the province of the poor-law authorities, or even of the County Councils, than of the School Board ... she believed that a general system of free meals would injure the working classes throughout the country.

SBC, 26/1/188, p.87.

As with the issue of school fees, a central theme running through the debate is the desire to avoid 'pauperising' further sections of the working classes and so enlarge the 'residuum'. Hence while Ruth Homan introduced deputations of the unemployed urging the Board to petition Parliament for the power to feed and clothe the children of the unemployed, such a motion could not be criticised on the grounds of being indiscriminate since it clearly upheld the principle of 'less eligibility'. (SBC, 19/11/1892, p.575) Despite the fact that by 1895, the Board itself acknowledged the failure of the 'self-supporting' penny dinners movement, 90 per cent of the dinners having been given free, the school board never made use of its potential for universal coverage to alleviate the problem of underfed children. The over-riding concern

remained the need to avoid indiscriminate charity by means of COS style case records kept by women like Lucy Fowler. (see Appendix Three)

Nominated by the Committee of Representative Managers to give evidence to Margaret Eve and her colleagues on the Special Committee on Underfed Children in 1895, Lucy stressed the "need to know the circumstances of every child to help in each case." (SBL 1468, Report of a Special Committee on Underfed Children, p.42) The characteristic concern with the classification and surveillance of the London 'residuum' permeated their conclusions:

Lists preserved and compared from year to year would not only be an invaluable guide for local action, but would create a store of social facts of yearly growing importance. The enforcement of compulsory education by passing the whole population through the schools has, indeed, provided here as in other respects an unequalled opportunity of observing and facing the whole problem of London poverty.

SBC, 16/11/1895, p.556.

It is this intersection of gender and class in the philanthropic networks providing the bridge between individualised and collectivist solutions to social problems which is crucial here. Female Board members were simply the tip of the iceberg in terms of the involvement of middle class women in shaping the emerging system of elementary education. The 'notion of reform by example' being crucial to what was, in late-Victorian and Edwardian England, part and parcel of a set of values corresponding to the ethic of public service aspired to by women unable or unwilling to be assimilated to the older, leisured, gentle tradition. In the words of an early student and later senior staff lecturer in maths at Royal Holloway College:

A new world was being created and I remember the zest with which we all carried on our daily affairs. Our way of life was intended to

be a training in virtue, we all looked forward to 'Doing Good' somehow, somewhere.

cited in Binham, 1987, p.109.

When the first Labour member Mary Bridges Adams, supported the moves to supplement voluntary provision in 1897, the previous question was carried by twenty-eight votes to fifteen. Included amongst the twenty-eight were Eugenie Dibdin, Constance Elder, Margaret Eve, Ellen McKee (a former poor-law guardian) and Emma Maitland. Only Mary Bridges Adams and Honnor Morten supported the motion, and both were former members of women's settlements, where the aim was to promote the welfare of the district through the emphasis upon a non-professional, shared women's world. Honnor Morten's claim that her settlement in Hoxton was run on 'unsectarian and socialistic lines', being a reference to the fact that unlike other settlements it was housed in 'workmen's tenements' where the workers did their own cleaning and 'live in friendly intercourse with the neighbours'. (Morten, 1899, pp 92-3) On the subject of free school meals Mary made her feelings on the issue clear:

the London School Board, composed of people, who for the most part were able to gratify every wish, could not realise what was meant by underfeeding, and she had been pained to hear this debate. It would be a simple thing to have a weighing machine in the schools and the children weighed to see how much they were below the standard weight ... Poverty was an ambiguous term and they must remember that there was the poverty of the poor as well as of the rich - the poor relatives members pitied who had to manage on £400 a year.

SBC, 18/12/1897, pp 677-8.

Giving evidence on the subject in 1899, Honnor highlighted the issue of nutrition, arguing that the kind of food which was frequently supplied to children was calculated to produce diarrhoea. (SBL 1469, Report of a Special Committee 1899, pp 12-13) Thereby lending added weight to Mary's

argument that the Board should provide daily dinners funded by the revenue raised by either the taxation of ground values, a graduated income tax on all incomes above £300 a year, or graduated death duties. (SBL 1468, Report of a Special Committee on Underfed Children 7/11/1895, pp 14-15)

Discipline.

The London School Board developed an elaborate system of reward cards, prizes, medals and certificates, as well as punishments, as part and parcel of the struggle to secure compliance in the arena of the elementary schools themselves. Adopting a wider definition of discipline than that encapsulated by the notion of corporal punishment, it will be argued that broader issues were at stake. In addition to the use of corporal punishment as a means of social control, this concluding section explores the ways in which the Board schools provided a means of encouraging specific social values as part of a broader attempt to engender self-discipline amongst the working classes through the development of new moral codes.

To elaborate upon an earlier point concerning the chimera of parental consensus, it should be noted that the gradual re-definition of the parental role also provided the means of establishing that schools had the right to punish their pupils. What needs to be emphasised here are the ways in which the exercise of power in a specifically educational setting reflect the changing social relations between families and the

state. In the representative words of the former Board teacher and later Board member, Thomas Gautrey: "until the 'school habit' had won its way, parents in the poorest areas resented the interference with their 'parental rights'". (n.d., p.81)

Just as female Board members were divided over its use as a form of social control in the industrial schools, so they adopted various positions regarding the use of corporal punishment in the elementary schools. Consequently while some female Board members vociferously opposed this form of punishment, others clearly felt it represented an essential means of securing control. Until 1886 only the headteacher could administer corporal punishment, (all instances being noted in the punishment book kept for the purpose), children were not to be hit on the head and pupil-teachers were absolutely forbidden from inflicting it at any time. According to Ballard (1937, pp 63-4), the lifting of the restrictions on the use of the cane by assistant-teachers resulted in a steady decrease in the actual amount of punishment in the schools, although the subject of corporal punishment remained a bone of contention between middle class Board members and their working class constituents throughout its lifetime.

The strength of working class feeling on the issue of corporal punishment may be illustrated by reference to the organised opposition to the proposals to alter the rules in 1886. Not only were petitions sent to the Board but, on the introduction of Benjamin Lucraft and Florence Fenwick Miller, various deputations from working men's clubs and organisations addressed the Board to express their concern in

person. Despite the fact that she had not stood in the 1885 triennial election to the Board, Florence continued to mobilise support amongst the working classes for her continued opposition to the new rules at specially called meetings of delegates of working class organisations from all over London. (SBC, 27/11/1886, pp 569-70; 4/12/1886, pp 612-3) Fenwick Miller believed that such a rule would not only lead to the frequent, hasty and indiscriminate use of corporal punishment but would also result in greater truancy. (SBC, 4/12/1886, pp 612-3)

Although the stance adopted by women like Helen Taylor and Honnor Morten may have earned them the vigorous dislike of the teachers amongst their constituents, the SBC declaring that Helen had lost the support of the elementary teachers during the 1879 election campaign (6/12/1879, p.573), she still finished top of the poll. Continually raising the subject at the regular meetings she held with her constituents to keep them informed of the Board's work, Helen was unfailingly popular with the working classes amongst her electorate. Nevertheless, in 1901 the Board Teacher launched the following invective against Honnor for asserting that corporal punishment was on the increase in the schools: "we have scant respect for Miss Morten ... because she cannot tell the truth ... she is so blinded by prejudice that she cannot see things as they are." (1/12/1901, p.273) Whatever the teachers' official opinion, oral reminiscences of schooling during this period painfully recall the sadistic punishments inflicted by some teachers as well as the spirited defence advanced by some parental opponents. (see Humphries, 1981, Thompson, 1975).

As the most outspoken critic of corporal punishment among the early female Board members and member of the Vigilance Association for the defence of personal rights, Helen Taylor ardently campaigned for the abolition of corporal punishment in the elementary schools. Expressing concern over the plight of battered wives, Taylor felt that boys who were flogged by their teachers were more likely to grow up in the belief that they had the right to beat their wives. Drawing parallels with the use of corporal punishment on adult males confined to the workhouse, Taylor argued that the 'bread winner' who has been punished in a brutal manner would be more likely to come back a brutalised tyrant to his family than to keep them out of the workhouse by his exertions. (EWR, February 1875, pp 58-61) Extending the argument to the elementary schools she felt that more than any other single thing, corporal punishment was the cause of keeping children away from school.

Addressing her constituents she continued:

She did not think there lay much difficulty in the matter; the main difficulty was, in fact, with the members of the Board, who had had punishment in their own youth, and intend now to give it to the young, declaring that they had had it themselves and it did them much good. It said little for the refinement and civilisation of the age if teaching could not be carried on by reason and sympathy.

Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Newscuttings, 28/11/1877.

What she is enunciating here is a clear attack upon the disciplinary methods characteristic of the male public school system during this period which was, after all, the education received by the majority of her male colleagues and what she sees as their attempts to instil the same ethos into the evolving system of board schools attended by the working classes albeit with a rather different rationale.

In distinct contrast to this outspoken criticism, is the stance adopted by Alice Westlake which is deeply evocative of the class differentiation underpinning her attitudes towards working class children. In response to a motion moved by Elizabeth Surr on 2 February 1878, that corporal punishment should be discontinued in the girls' and infants' departments of Board schools, she opposed the motion on the grounds that it was no use appealing to the reason of young children and as some of the girls 'were of a very rough class and were insubordinate, and the teachers could not expel them' she thought it best that teachers should have the option of administering corporal punishment. (SBC, 2/11/1878, p.416) Needless to say on this occasion the 'Previous Question' was adopted by twenty-six votes to four, which effectively meant that the issue was shelved. Ten months later, seconded by Helen Taylor, Elizabeth Surr makes another attempt to raise the issue of corporal punishment in girls' and infants' schools with greater success in that she manages to get the question referred to the School Management Committee for consideration and report. Though as the Englishwomen's Review points out, whilst glad to see the influence of women exerted specially in cases affecting their own sex; humanitarianism affects girls and boys alike and they should be glad to see her include both sexes alike. (15/11/1878, p.506)

Irrespective of physical punishments as a mode of discipline, the issue was wider than this since the Board also sought to introduce habits of self-discipline amongst the working classes both through the formal curriculum and the provision of 'suitable' leisure activities after school hours. According to Florence Fenwick Miller subjects like 'social

economy' which included instruction on "the reasons for the fundamental arrangement upon which society is based," sought to teach children "the absolute necessity of certain things being done, certain courses being adopted, and certain classes of action being followed, so that these principles might be brought home to children as a matter of morals." (SBC, 13/1/1883, p.29) Significantly, Helen Taylor challenged the 'political' element of this definition by emphasising that it should only cover "those laws which actually and indisputably governed society." Accentuating the practical workings of these laws to deepen the understanding of children of the world in which they lived was an important shift in emphasis from the implicitly shared understanding of the subject advanced by other members of the Board. To summarise with the representative words of William Bousfield (twice Chairman of Council of the COS) he:

hoped the Board would deal with this matter in some way, as a little instruction in it would make the rising generation really good citizens, and nothing was more wanted at the present time than to teach widely the laws which govern thrift and temperance in other matters.

SBC, 13/1/1883, p.29.

Thrift and temperance were further encouraged through the establishment of penny banks and specific reference to the dangers of 'intoxicating liquor' through the formal curriculum, on the suggestion of Florence Fenwick Miller and Helen Taylor in 1877. Interestingly, Alice Westlake opposed proposals to use diagrams showing the diseases resulting from heavy drinking, suggesting instead that: "The Board ought .. to .. place children in the way of other occupations and .. pleasures." (SBC, 21/4/1877, p.406) Hence the introduction of such extra-curricular

activities as 'happy evenings' run by the Children's Happy Evenings Association founded by Ada Heather-Bigg in 1890. Illustrating the links between Board work and those other wings of the Victorian philanthropic movement dominated by women, the Princess of Wales was the President of an Association whose aim was to provide organised games and other entertainments for board school children using the school board buildings. Since the eight hundred voluntary helpers included many ladies who were familiar figures in West-End drawing-rooms, Philpott felt: "this coming together in sympathetic association of rich and poor must be numbered among the incidental advantages of the movement." (1904, p.301) Not suprisingly teachers supported the movement if only, Philpott adds, "because it tends to improve the school attendance." Significantly tickets were generally only given to children who were "regular and punctual at school." (p.305)

Clearly illustrating the interconnection between education and social policy such movements were dominated by women and ranged far and beyond after school activities. Ruth Homan, for instance, was President of the Children's Country Holiday Fund, established to provide poor London children with holidays in the homes of 'respectable cottagers.' Honnor Morten was another female Board member who got involved in this work via her involvement with settlements in Hoxton. Whatever the motivations behind such work, it was clearly only ameliorative in character and not designed to effect radical social change. As the principles underlying the Poplar Board School Children's Boot and Clothing Help Society established by Ruth Homan clearly show, for some of these women at least, it was difficult to break with the notion of 'pauperising' the

poor through indiscriminate charity. As she told the East End News "The children pay small weekly subscriptions, and, when two-thirds of the cost has been paid the boots are supplied, the society finding the remaining third in very necessitous cases." (British and Foreign Schools Society Archive, File 320, 1897)

Conclusion.

What this exploration of the use of education as social welfare has shown is the contradictory elements involved in trying to develop a class and gendered analysis of the role played by middle class Board members acting on behalf of the members of a different social class. In terms of the broader philanthropic network pervading late-Victorian and Edwardian England, the sharing of a common culture of voluntary effort provided an important source of social integration for women attempting public roles previously not within the purview of their sex. It is this language of compassion and tender sensitivity to the sufferings of others that makes explicit the gender element in the developing education-welfare link. Irrespective of the political framework shaping their response to specific issues, female Board members prudently used the language of the family to legitimise their entry to the public sphere. Socialist Board members like Mary Bridges Adams were pledged to ensure Board school children should have the same standard of education as they would desire for their own. (Blackheath Gazette, 26/10/1894, p.7) Even so, that does not mean the language middle class women used to

justify their actions had the same meaning for the working classes they were purporting to represent.

Whilst all save the socialist women sought the preservation of the status quo, the issues chosen accentuate the way in which attitudes to working class children in school were shaped by the predominant social theory of the 1860s, epitomised by the fear of that undifferentiated 'residuum'. By the late-1880s the language of national efficiency provided the framework for educational policy-makers and administrators on the London School Board. Although individual female Board members avoided using language evocative of the strong, censorious, authoritarian, element adopted by some of their colleagues, this may well have reflected prevailing notions of femininity in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Not only was Elizabeth Garrett roundly attacked for her lack of compassion in upholding the principles of 1834, unlike male colleagues, but Rosamond Davenport-Hill clearly felt it necessary to temper her opposition to free meals with an expression of well-meaning concern. Though female board members could unite in their opposition to Board policy on specific issues, like the mistreatment of male truants in reformatory institutions or notions of equal opportunity encapsulated within the opposition to the domestic curriculum for working class girls, on broader issues of social welfare there was no clear gender divide.

Like Helen Taylor before her, the socialist Mary Bridges Adams was always an isolated figure on the Board, but one who sought to challenge the educational philosophy enunciated by fellow Board members. Openly

stating on election platforms that the Labour programme did not go far enough on such issues as school meals, overcrowding, the curriculum and secondary education for all. (SBC, 1/12/1894, pp 642-3) Unlike the charismatic Annie Besant, whom Headlam suggested was 'the real leader of the advanced party' and not the nominal one of Lyulph Stanley (Rubinstein, 1970, p.24), Helen provoked antagonism from her Liberal colleagues like Stanley and fierce loyalty from her working class constituents who repeatedly returned her at the head of the poll.

For other women, concerned to moralise the poor and firm believers in the power of reform through education, the underlying philosophy pervading their attitudes towards working class children was that personal approach to reform advocated by Octavia Hill and her disciples in the COS. As she succinctly states: "My only notion of reform is that of living side by side with people, till all that I believe becomes livingly clear to them." (Maurice, 1928, p.211) Considerable faith was placed in the power of education to act as a form of social control maintaining and perpetuating the status quo, aided and abetted by a simple notion of 'reform from above' in this case by the example set through increased social contact between the classes in order to instil specific social values and moral codes. As one such 'beneficiary' recalled:

The lady who judged the work was quite elderly and wore a straw bonnet the shade of Parma Violet, tied with 2 velvet ribbons of the same shade. The straw of the bonnet was peaked over the face and each peak had a shaded Parma Violet on it. Our teacher said to us afterwards 'Class take note of the lady we have just met and her perfect speech.' The lady had called us 'gels', not the so often heard 'girrls'.

Tower Hamlets Local History Library, Bark, (n.d.), p.1.

ENDNOTES.

1. The Women's Education Union, originally known as the 'National Union for the Education of Girls of all classes above the Elementary', was founded by two sisters - Maria Grey and Emily Shirreff - in 1871. Along with other friends and supporters like Mary Gurney and Lady Henrietta Stanley (Lyulph Stanley's mother), they promoted the interests of the WEU (which existed until 1882) and its offshoot the Girls' Public Day School Company, founded in 1872 and responsible for thirty-six schools by 1896. (Dyhouse, 1981, p.56)

CONCLUSION

As women in public during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the female members of the London School Board shared a novel political and administrative experience. Though my historical investigation has shown that female Board members did share certain common constraints and problems, only a feminist with a leaning to essentialism would conclude that therefore these women may be said to form a simple, homogenous social category. My picture is more nuanced. Irrespective of the high degree of social and political homogeneity that provided the women with much-needed support at an emotional, intellectual and political level, the strategies and tactics they proposed and used in relation to the constraints and problems they faced as administrators and policy-makers in the field of elementary education, were much more heterogenous.

In their discussion of women and power, Stacey and Price (1981) identified five criteria for identifying successful women. On the basis of my sample of twenty-nine women (those for whom I had sufficient biographical data to draw conclusions) it is clear that there were common factors that helped draw together the multifarious threads of these womens' lives. All of the women had a middle or upper class background. Of those who did not have an independent income, all had the necessary education to be self-supporting. Over a third of female Board members came from politically active families and, with the exception of Florence Fenwick Miller who twice gave birth during her second term, avoided or minimised family commitments during their tenure in office.

While it was possible to highlight significant patterns and relationships, to the extent that no two biographies were, (or could be) identical, it is impossible to lose sight of the individual by speaking of a category of 'female members of the London School Board'.

In terms of their self-image, London School Board women could hardly fail to recognise their pioneering status in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Even so, the tensions of gender and class were manifest in both their social philosophy and political allegiance. As Chapter Two made clear, these women enjoyed upper class linguistic and social competences, style and manners, but also belonged to a subordinate group by virtue of their gender. It was this contradiction which provided the foundation for that mid-century liberal feminism which emanated from the Ladies' Institute, Langham Place. As Caine (1982, p.540) makes clear, what was being asserted was "not the equality of men and women in any substantive way but rather the entitlement of women to equality before the law and the freedom of women to develop themselves." Socialist feminists extended the analysis beyond the liberal feminist issue of access to education and the professions, the suffrage, public life and government. Thus they advocated campaigns for social, economic and political change in order to ameliorate the social divisions of gender and class.

It is usually assumed that the responsibility for mass schooling mostly lay with men working within both central and local government. I have gone beyond this perspective in order to examine the position of women involved with the institution of elementary education. In exploring the

way in which the social inequalities of gender shape women's experience of public office, the study goes some way towards correcting the emphasis upon predominantly male agents in existing historical accounts of the relationship between the educational structure and society and the inter-relationship of its component parts. Given the absence of either studies on the work of individual school boards, or accounts of the London Board, my case study has helped redress this imbalance by focusing upon the development of mass elementary schooling in late-nineteenth and early twentieth century London.

The central organising theme running through the thesis has been the extent to which the social patterning of gender shaped and influenced the role played by female members of the London School Board. I have examined the stance adopted by individual London School Board women on the formal curriculum, the administration of reformatory institutions, and attitudes towards working class children in school, considered in terms of the interplay of the social divisions of gender and class. Cognisant of the importance of public relations and the need to avoid hostility, many female Board members felt constrained to accommodate their behaviour to expectations about gender. Whilst the entry of women to the public domain clearly demonstrated the need for some re-evaluation of ideas about the proper position of women in society, it was legitimised in terms that stressed the innateness of the psychological and cultural definitions of woman's 'nature' and mission.

Asserting that it was a woman's duty to take an interest in local issues, feminist periodicals like The Englishwoman's Review drew

parallels between the successful and orderly management of working class schooling and the internal prosperity of the country. Female Board members legitimised their entry to the public sphere by reinterpreting existing definitions of the public domain. The developing idea of women's citizenship provided the basis for an instrumental and pragmatic approach to school board work which reinterpreted the field of educational policy-making and administration as part and parcel of the domestic concerns of life. Whilst this gendered self-consciousness enabled a few middle class women to negotiate a place for themselves in the public sphere, it was a refashioning that clearly displayed the tensions of gender and class.

It was, after all, middle class women who were being appealed to here since working class women were unlikely to have enough time even if they were properly qualified to stand as candidates as rate-payers of the requisite amount. Arguments about the feminisation of local government were also based upon working class women as the focus of middle class women's moralising, whether through the expanding domestic curriculum, or by providing a 'motherly' eye to watch over the neglected and ill-behaved child. Nevertheless, in attempting public roles previously not within the purlieu of their sex, female Board members were themselves constrained by some of the less visible dimensions of power operating through collective forces and social arrangements. As Riley (1988, p.70) points out in her discussion of 'the womanly vote', "because 'women' were thoroughly ensnared in an elaborate set of assumptions already in place; any political deployment of 'women' had no choice but to build upon, or try to undermine, this inherited foundation."

Given the general agreement concerning the importance of public relations and the need to avoid male hostility, the emphasis upon pragmatism and moderation had profound implications for gender relations on the London School Board. Even though there would appear to have been divergence over what precisely this moderation entailed and at what cost stage-management should be maintained, it was a constraint shared by all women who sat on the Board. Moreover, while most female Board members accepted as 'natural' a sexual division of labour and female familial responsibilities, this acceptance severely limited their capacity to analyse either the gender segmentation of the labour force, or the extent to which ideologies about the family assumed female financial and emotional dependence on men in households. Consequently, it had serious implications for the working class children attending the elementary schools temporarily entrusted to their care.

Underpinning the interplay between the social divisions of gender and class were complex issues of social philosophy and political allegiance. Only Annie Besant, Mary Bridges Adams, Honnor Morton, Henrietta Muller, Edith Simcox, Elizabeth Surr and Helen Taylor embraced a social philosophy or political allegiance that approximated to anything like socialist feminism, although the label is necessarily used in a loose sense. Edith and Mary shared a trade union background, but had contrasting experiences on the Board. While Edith towed the majority line, Mary was a somewhat isolated figure. Like Helen Taylor before her she refused to compromise her political beliefs in the face of often virulent opposition. It may well have been her inability to tolerate or understand compromise that underlay Helen's marked lack of success with

respect to the issue of school fees, though there is little doubt that the antagonism Helen encountered was also related to her gender.

Possessing a "graceful, easy style of oratory", (Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Cuttings in Connection with the Land Question, Lancashire Evening Post) Helen was a formidable antagonist. In the words of her obituarist: "When she felt it right to be angry her anger was a white heat. Her passionate hatred of cruelty or oppression could scorch like a furnace seven times heated." (Women and Progress, 8/2/1907, p.229) Indeed one of her male constituents felt Helen far outshone her female colleagues by dint of her decided opinion and very marked intelligence. The reference to 'knowledge, independence and power of firmness' is crucial here, for these were not traditional 'feminine' attributes associated with the social patterning of gender in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Congratulating her and Southwark on her election victory, this same constituent assures Helen that he had:

always thought that the woman element on the School Board had wanted a leader of decided opinion and very marked intelligence, because even with the very excellent women who have served on it so far, the man power as you call it has rather complied if not condescended and that partly out of pure politeness ... You will be able to take the necessary stand and by force of pure reason and the public opinion which is behind you get the girls lifted up a step or two at least.

Mill/Taylor, Volume XVI, Helen Taylor from William Rendle, 3/12/1876.

In relation to a gender analysis, the reference to man power is highly significant. Although Helen was the first elected female chair of one of the Board's Standing Committees, she could not initiate policy changes with respect to the issues of either school fees or free meals. Public opinion was the deciding factor over the issue of gross malpractice in

the industrial schools, and it was this that allowed Helen to air her socialist views while secure in the knowledge that she had the full backing of her constituents.

In terms of wielding power, socialist feminists who campaigned for a broader definition of elementary education than the Liberal Progressives, faced a particularly difficult situation. They not only belonged to a dominated group by virtue of their gender but they openly identified with another dominated group by virtue of their political allegiance. Some liberal feminists aroused less antagonism both by virtue of the fact that they supported the policies of the 'school board' party, and in terms of their demeanour on the Board. Such provisos notwithstanding, when seen in this light, the achievements of Annie Besant are all the more remarkable. At the time of her election her name was both anathema to churchmen, while as an atheist divorcee, the suffrage movement did not dare accept her. Yet her work on the London School Board not only laid the foundations of the school medical services, but a feeding programme for needy children. A charismatic figure, it may well have been her power as an orator that enabled her to act as 'unofficial' leader of the opposition on a Tory-dominated Board. As she herself acknowledged when recalling her first speech in Sibsey Church:

I shall never forget the feeling of power and delight - but especially of power - that came upon me as I sent my voice ringing down the aisles ... and as the sentences flowed unbidden from my lips and my own tones echoed back to me from the pillars of the ancient church, I knew of a verity that the gift of speech was mine, and that if ever ... the chance came to me of public work, this power of melodious utterance should at least win a hearing for any message I had to bring.

Besant, 1893, pp 115/6.

Given that Annie only served for a single term, her achievements are quite exceptional and in distinct contrast to the approach of the 'silent' member, Rosamond Davenport-Hill. For Rosamond it was participation in the expansion of the domestic curriculum for working class girls that enabled her to build a power base on the Board, albeit using a conception of her sex's traditional activities within the home that was constructed within the context of traditional class and gender power relations. Without losing sight of the notions of both accomodation and resistance to the operation of class and gender identities, I suggest that women like Rosamond Davenport-Hill and Ruth Homan were able to act as class intellectuals. (Gramsci, 1971, pp 5-16) Both women used the elementary schools to facilitate the process by which the philosophy, culture and morality of the dominant groups became the 'official' view of the world, appearing to represent the interests of society at large rather than the consciousness of a particular section or group. This usage was later justified by recourse to the language of national efficiency espoused by those with varying political allegiances, ranging from Fabian socialism to conservative and liberal thinkers, linking domestic subjects for girls to the rhetoric of empire and a concern with national identity.

Cultural capital played some part in shaping the nature of female Board members relations with their working class constituents. Like women involved in philanthropic work, the women relied on assumed authority over the poor derived from their social class position. However this was not true of relations on the Board itself. As William Rendle intimated,

these may well have simply extended the pattern of gender relations amongst the middle classes in the private domain to the public domain of local government. The way in which the contemporary press emphasised the work of certain 'lady' Board members suggests that this was so. Unlike Rosamond Davenport-Hill, Ruth Homan, or Margaret Eve, Helen Taylor was not prepared to follow an 'unobtrusive' path in private committee meetings, rather than the public forum of the weekly debate at the Board. Not only was Rosamond known as the 'silent' member, but neither Ruth nor Margaret were found to have made a significant number of verbal contributions to the weekly Board debates, with Margaret leaving it to her colleagues to defend her right of access to Christ's Hospital as an almoner, when Christ's objected. This was in stark contrast to Helen Taylor's and Elizabeth Surr's attempts to get the Board to change its policy over the industrial school administration.

Tensions of gender and class, social philosophy and political allegiance, also came into play in the stance women adopted on the various welfare issues which may well have been seen as peripheral to the provision of a basic form of schooling per se. As with the issue of the formal curriculum, the time women served on the Board was crucial, for just as the imposition of the various Government Codes on domestic subjects placed constraints upon the stance adopted by women members of the London School Board, so the time periodization was crucial to the stance taken on broader welfare issues. With respect to free meals, the tensions between the policing and the charitable impulse implicit within the concern to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor, and the immediate impact of the widening economic and social divide

during the 1880s, coupled with the language of national efficiency, provided the framework for later social theories and legislation.

Within this changing social, economic and political context women members of the London School Board, sharing the same constraints and problems, arrived at different solutions and strategies. While socialists like Mary Bridges Adams advocated collectivist solutions, others like Rosamond Davenport-Hill remained firmly wedded to individualist solutions of self-help to strengthen individual character. Nevertheless, the fact that Rosamond tempered her statement on free meals by reasserting her 'caring' qualities, suggests that gender relations, both inside and outside the Board, were a very real constraint shaping women members' self and public images. On this issue, it would appear that gender concerns were crucial to the women's response. Whilst female 'self-helpers' stressed their humanitarianism, their opposition to collectivism may well have had a more selfish motivation, in the sense that collectivist solutions represented a threat to the power exerted by middle class women in the world of philanthropy. Middle class female charity workers may well have been concerned that state intervention would lead to their replacement by new forms of salaried social officers. As Thompson (1987) points out:

A great deal of the energy of the women's movement in the last twenty years of the century went into gaining the right to train for and practise such positions as factory inspectors, sanitary inspectors, prison officers and above all to serve on national and local councils to whom these officers were responsible. In doing this they were breaking new ground in public activity, but also attempting to regain new forms of authority which were disappearing with the declining power of charity as a form of social authority.

Thompson, 1987, p.74.

It is in this context that the feminist fight to overturn the decision to abolish school boards must be seen. With their abolition women lost the right to be elected on the same terms as men for, as they could not then be elected to county councils the government relented in allowing women to become co-opted members of such councils. Once again, tensions of class and gender are evident. While middle class liberal feminists accentuated the perceived threat to the admission of women to the public domain, and the need for the mothers and daughters of the poor to have female representation, albeit by women of another social class, Mary Bridges Adams expressed concern at the emerging class based system of state education. She hoped for a common school, attended by all social classes, reminiscent of the schemes for a national educational system preparing boys and girls for common work articulated by Annie Besant during the late-1880s. (see Besant, 1886, p.42)

Even to attempt to categorise women according to political affiliation is to lose some of the nuances of their position, for just as there were many feminisms so there were many individualisms and many collectivisms. Even though socialist feminists kept up the struggle to secure the principles they believed in, their impact on policy was slight. It may be argued that like their female colleagues holding a different social philosophy and political allegiance, they helped shape an elementary education system that contributed to the reproduction of a social system divided along the lines of both gender and class.

Despite the difficulties of looking at the women as a group in terms of individual differences, the final justification for so doing is the

extent to which it facilitates the possibility of drawing patterns, tracing links. While I am well aware of the limitations stemming from such an attempt to trace the links between biography and public life, in the sense that it is possible to lose sight of collective patterns and relationships in the face of individual biographical details, the result is a richer, more multi-dimensional picture than that produced by a static focus upon policy-making alone. Further research might usefully take this emphasis on networking a stage further by investigating the links between school board work and organised philanthropy, or the work of women on the Education Committee of the London County Council in order to assess the extent to which the loss of their elected status affected the way in which women were able to operate as co-opted members. The experience of Helen Taylor, who relied upon the support of her constituents to legitimise her stance on the Board, suggests that it did.

Related to the issue of their non-elected status, was the fact that co-opted committee members were forbidden from taking part in the larger Council debates. Hence, even though she was the former chairman of the Board's domestic subjects sub-committee, Ruth Homan could not participate in a debate in the London County Council on the best method of teaching cookery. Highlighting the problems of conceptualising the role of women's work in the field of elementary education in terms of Johnson's (1972) distinction between the 'expert' in government and the non-expert but professional administrator, in March 1906 Susan Lawrence told the Women's Local Government Society how she:

was in the gallery for that debate and heard the councillors on the

floor of the House freely quoting and explaining what Mrs Homan thought of the matter; I could not help feeling that if Mrs Homan had been able to put her own points herself she would have put them much better, because she would have been able to put them with the force and weight that long personal experience alone can give; she might possibly have been able to turn the division.

cited in Brownlow, 1911, p.161.

Given the emphasis upon the common constraints and problems shared by female members of the London School Board, I should have liked the opportunity to investigate further the extent of organised feminist opposition to the 1902 Education Act. Not only did they organise campaigns, deputations, and petitions before the Act passed into law, but participated in the Passive Resistance movement via refusal to pay that portion of the rates which they judged to be earmarked for elementary education. Some of these female protestors were involved in court summonses and suffered distraint of their goods, while in 1905 an old lady of eighty received a prison sentence of seven days. Though it is possible that some of the female protesters may have been Nonconformists, protesting about the fact that the Act placed denominational elementary schools 'on the rates'. (see Pugh, 1990, pp 355-373)

In addition to the transition from school boards to the City and Council Councils as the new Local Education Authorities, the absence of detailed studies of individual urban and rural school boards suggests the need for further research to substantiate the large canvas worked upon by Hollis. (1987) Further light may be shed on the personal conflicts faced by women sharing common constraints and problems as administrators and policy-makers in the field of elementary education by considering the

links between female public service and the mystical creed of theosophy. Containing both pantheistic and supernatural elements, but without an exclusive or rigid set of theological doctrines, Annie Besant and Henrietta Muller were amongst many feminist converts. According to Vicinus (1985, p.260), "theosophy was very popular, because it appeared to offer an alternative to so much materialist Victorian thinking, was dominated by women, and emphasised spirituality as a force for social change."

For Annie Besant, theosophy provided a path through "storm to peace", albeit with a double-edged sword. As she herself later acknowledged:

I had largely conquered public prejudice against me by my work on the London School Board, and a smoother road stretched before me, ... Was I to plunge into a new vortex of strife, and make myself a mark for ridicule - worse than hatred - and fight again the weary fight for an unpopular truth?

Besant, 1893, p.342.

Recognising the importance Annie attached to the search for spiritual satisfaction, further study might usefully explore the association between religious affiliation and female membership of local school boards. Just as Vicinus (1985, p.260) argues that underlying the suffragettes' "search for a different set of beliefs and behaviour was a desire for an alternative to a life designed and led by men", so might female Board members have sought an alternative spiritual dimension.

Given the struggle to secure a permanent place for women in local politics, it is worth considering with what wry irony women like Annie Besant would have greeted Margaret Thatcher's assertion that: "I didn't

get there by being some strident female. I don't like strident females. I like ... people ... who don't run the feminist ticket too hard."(Daily Mail, 27/4/1979) Nevertheless, for women like Honnor Morten feminism was just part of the question. Driven by the spirit of service to suffering humanity, her very personal integrity depended upon the doctrine of work to alleviate social injustice. Reiterating the links between duty and citizenship encapsulated within women's entry to the public sphere in late-Victorian and Edwardian England, she emitted the heartfelt plea:

I have asked for a holiday and am off home for a week ... I go home - home to the fields and flowers ... the place was joyless, the days were empty, nature had become nothing to me ... How could I be happy there when I knew there was all this misery here? Father, I choose; I will not take a heaven haunted by shrieks of far-off misery ... Oh Eden, Eden! I have eaten the apple, and the gates are closed behind me!

Morten, 1899, pp 28-9.

APPENDIX ONE: METHODOLOGY

Following Burgess and Bulmer (1981, p.478), methodology is taken as denoting "the systematic and logical study of the general principles guiding inquiry." As a sociologist embarking on a piece of historical research, I wanted to capture that quality of the sociological enterprise which presupposes an interest in "looking some distance beyond the commonly accepted or officially defined goals of human actions." (Berger, 1971, p.37)

Asserting the necessity of the temporal dimension in sociological analysis, Mills (1959, p.146) claims that, "All sociology worthy of the name is 'historical sociology.'" In order to justify this claim I suggest that sociological analysis should be grounded in historical inquiry, be sensitive to the particularities of concrete historical situations and recognise that, to varying degrees, situations contain different possibilities of future development. Given this, an historical perspective implies not only a sense of the past but also an awareness of future possibilities in analysing the present. Nevertheless, as Abrams (1982) makes clear, historical sociology is not:

a matter of imposing grand schemes of evolutionary development on the relationship of the past to the present. Nor is it merely a matter of recognising the historical background to the present. It is the attempt to understand the relationship of personal activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time. It makes the continuous process of construction the focal concern of social analysis.

Abrams, 1982, p.16.

Exploring the links between personal biography, social networks and

careers in public life, the role of women on the London School Board was considered in relation to the social, economic and political structure of late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Moving beyond the method of narrative, the analysis of process raises the issue of causal explanation. Even though historical events are not intrinsically resistant to generalising causal analysis, there are problems involved in linking historical data to sociological theory. As there are no guarantees concerning the objectivity of the historical data uncovered during the research process, this raises problems of interpretation and meaning.

In most instances it was not possible to ensure that the documents were properly understood as contemporaries would have understood them. While meaning may be imputed it cannot always be demonstrated. Hence it is difficult to apply such key sociological concepts as power, authority and control to second-hand accounts of a given historical situation. Furthermore, a welter of empirical detail can impede the attempt to construct sociological explanations, resulting in an unwillingness to generalise in the face of the inevitable exception to the rule.

Ultimately, as Abrams points out:

we have to find a way of living with the fact of the mutual interdependence and contamination of theory and evidence without resorting to either the anti-theoretical fetishism of history as evidence ... or the a-historical fetishism of theory-as-knowledge.
Abrams, 1982, p.333.

Inevitably the human element intrudes into investigations of the past just as it does in contemporary studies. Not only is there a need to be particularly sensitive to an understanding of the researcher's role as

an interpreter of the past, making it possible to speak of an interaction between the researcher and her or his sources, but to cast doubt on any researcher's claim to be definitive. There may well be some people figuring in the research with whom one identifies more than others but a recognition of the fact that the social-scientist is not value-free or value-neutral in her/his research should not lead to accusations of bias.

As gender is one of the key variables it is important to remember that researchers too are gendered. The type of methodology a researcher is committed to is closely related to her assumptions about the nature of the social world. I suggest that Socialist Feminist research is no more 'biased' than research conducted within either a Marxist or a Pluralist framework of explanation. Like Smith (1975) I believe that the least that can be asked is, first an awareness of one's value biases and a recognition of how they influence any research efforts, and second an attempt to try to minimize personal value positions in the research.

According to Purvis (1985), the methodological framework within which feminist research is conducted differs from traditional mainstream academic research in a number of ways. As a Ph.D thesis, this study clearly does not satisfy either Purvis's notion of a primary audience of women, rather than men or academics, or the criterion that the research should be written up in an 'accessible' style that can be read by this primary audience of women, rather than an 'academic' style that will be read mainly by an elite of experts. Nevertheless, working within a feminist framework of explanation, an important premise is, firstly,

that women must not only be made visible but also heard. Secondly, in my view there is a need to question many of the assumptions embodied in traditional mainstream academic research, especially those concerning the distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' research and the hierarchies of knowledge within which much academic work is based on knowledge that relates only to one half of the human race, that is, men.

The research proposal entailed taking London as a case study and using all available primary and secondary sources to examine the role of women in shaping the educational experiences of working class children between 1870 and 1904. The aim was to try to collect both the information which the person who originally compiled the document intended it to convey and that evidence which may be derived despite its creator's deliberate intentions, that is, its unintended consequences. Any such plans to trace all sources which came into existence during the period being studied and interpretations written later by someone looking back were quickly abandoned as being too ambitious, given the constraints of time and space.

Having sampled the kinds of sources likely to be of most use, a more realistic decision was made to focus primarily on the body of official material on the London School Board held at the Greater London Record Office. Predominantly involving the use of the school board Minutes, as well as the boards' official organ - the School Board Chronicle - largely devoted to the dissemination of edited details of debates occurring at the weekly meetings of school boards throughout England and Wales. Other published commentary consulted included the teachers'

press, Victorian periodicals and local newspapers, supported by reference to the archives of other relevant institutions like the Board's successor, the London County Council, voluntary societies like the Charity Organisation Society, quite apart from parliamentary papers on education, the poor law and the relief of distress.

Nevertheless, as I wanted to develop a more rounded image of these women to avoid falling into the trap of divorcing a consideration of their public from their private lives, various additional sources were used in the hope of gathering relevant biographical data. Amongst these were personal texts like letters, diaries and unpublished autobiographies, other published commentary and reporting including various newspapers and some of the women's journals which occasionally gave personal details of female candidates standing for election, as well as relevant biographies and writings of both female Board members and other key figures.

General methodological problems therefore revolved around several related issues. Firstly, I had to ensure that the records used were representative of a gendered analysis of the workings of the London School Board. Secondly, I needed to decide upon a consistent method of content analysis. The evolving research process was accompanied by an identification of key concepts such as, power, authority and control, which were then used as a theoretical sieve through which to sift the documentary evidence. Associated with this was a growing recognition of the difficulties for women in adapting authoritative role models which did not conflict with contemporary conceptions of femininity. The

methodology used therefore revolved around the following points, which will vary in their relative pertinence to each other by virtue of the fact that the records used were of both different categories and came into being for different purposes.

Aside from the problems of memory and the question of how the individual concerned interprets the past, other significant issues to be considered when using such texts as autobiographies and biographies, include the basic attitudes, and prejudices held by the person or group of persons who created the document. As well as looking for contradictory attitudes, which may stem from a biographers relationship to their subject, the question of how and for what purpose the data came into existence must be kept firmly to the forefront in any such analysis of historical data. Pertinent questions included asking how well the authors were placed to provide reliable information upon the role of women in shaping the educational experiences of working class children. A novel should in my view only be used as an insight into social attitudes of the period in which it was written rather than providing evidence of concrete facts about everyday living, while newspaper letters raise the related issue of whether or not they are genuine.

Even though the use of different historical materials may involve certain methodological difficulties, it also provides the opportunity to investigate patterns of interaction between different factors like those of gender and class. To become involved in feminist analysis is to make a contribution - however small - towards the incorporation of women's experiences into the historical record and the use of gender as a

universally accepted category of social analysis just like those of class and race. To quote Patricia Grimshaw:

Women were never unimportant or marginal from the perspective of their own lives; they became unimportant only through male historical constructs that ignored or trivialised their world ... Writing women into history implies not only a new history of women but also a new history.

Grimshaw, 1985, p.55.

APPENDIX TWO - FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD

MRS ANNIE BESANT (nee WOOD) 1847-1933

Only daughter of Emily and William Persse Wood. Family moved to Harrow when William died in 1851 and Emily paid for her son's education at Harrow and Cambridge by taking in schoolboy boarders. Annie was educated by a neighbour. Married Rev. Frank Besant in 1867, two children, separated in 1873. Supported herself by journalism and public lectures, rose to prominence in the ranks of the National Secular Society became an intimate associate of its president, Charles Bradlaugh. The two were the subjects of a celebrated trial in the Court of Queen's Bench for publishing literature on birth control in 1877, which cost her the custody of her eight year-old daughter, Mabel.

Moving towards socialism in the 1880s, Annie joined the Fabians in 1885, formed the Law and Liberty League with W.T. Stead in 1887, and joined the Marxist Social Democratic Federation in 1888. (henceforth just SDF) Largely responsible for exposing the working conditions of the women in Bryant and May's match factory in the Link, the League's short-lived journal of 1888, and her column in Bradlaugh's National Reformer, a crucial factor in what became the first successful strike amongst unskilled labour.

Represented Tower Hamlets on the London School Board, 1888-1891. Endorsed the abolition of school fees and free school dinners, the payment of trade union wages by all contractors employed by the

Board. Converted to theosophy in 1889, did not stand for re-election, succeeded Madame Blavatsky as head of the Theosophical Society in Europe and India. Moved to India in 1895, founded the Home Rule for India League in 1916, in 1917 she became the first woman elected leader of the Indian National Congress. (see Besant, 1893; Dinnage, 1986; Nethercot, 1961; Nethercot, 1963)

MRS MARY JANE BRIDGES-ADAMS (nee DALTRY) 1854-1939

Father held an appointment at Elswick Works, Newcastle. She began life as a pupil-teacher, later head mistress in a Board school, taught in Birmingham and London. Studied at Bedford College, member of the Women's Local Government Society. (henceforth just WLGS) (SBC, 2/4/1903, p.297) Housemother of a woman's settlement in Greenwich. Married Walter Bridges-Adams, tutor, one son, William.

One of the few early labour figures to be involved with the Froebel movement. (Brehony, 1987, pp 152-3) Committed trade unionist, founded the National Education League in 1901 to fight the Conservative Education Bill and strengthen and develop the educational side of the Labour movement. (SBC, 30/11/1901, p.547) Honorary member of an association of union officials, to facilitate the exchange of information on the legal position of trade unions. (Response to the House of Lords ruling for the railway company over the 1900 Taff Vale strike) Council of management included Mona Wilson (Secretary of the

Women's Trade Union League) and Margaret Bondfield. (Assistant Secretary of the Shop Assistant's Union)

Represented Greenwich as the first Labour member on the London School Board, 1897-1904. (Newscuttings, 'School Boards' London 1896-7) Became the socialist Lady Warwick's secretary, running an office and discussion centre in Victoria Street, London. In 1906 the two women toured the country campaigning for free schoolmeals with Will Thorne and Sir John Gorst. (Blunden, 1967, pp 176-7) Resident Principal of the first Working Women's College, Bebel House, run by the trade unions and socialist organisations to train 'an organised body of disciplined, militant working women, combining confidence in themselves with an intelligent knowledge of their position as workers, who will, by constructive educational work, increase working-class discontent and help to organise that discontent under the banner of organised labour.' (Marcus, 1982, pp 154-7)

MISS JANE E. CHESSAR 1835-1880

Born in Edinburgh, father man of 'intellectual ability', died at the age of 44, left a widow and three young daughters. Educated in private schools and classes in preparation for the teaching profession. Moved to London in 1851, entered the Home and Colonial Teacher Training College. Became one of their organising governesses, forced to resign due to ill-health in 1866, but continued to give lectures and tuition. Prepared girls for the senior Cambridge

examinations, taught at the North London Collegiate and Camden Schools for Girls, examiner for the Froebel Society, edited two geographical journals and made regular contributions to the Queen and other newspapers. Teachers' representative on the Council of Cheltenham Ladies' College, founded a ladies debating society and swimming club for London's women teachers. Suffragist, member of the governing body of the Women's Education Union, the Somerville Club for Women, Association to Promote Women's Knowledge of the Law.

Represented Marylebone on the London School Board, 1870-3. Lived with Mary Richardson, whom she persuaded to stand and coached in preparation for the 1879 election campaign. Died in Brussels while helping at an educational congress. (Athenaeum, 18/9/1880, p.370; Bateson, 1895, p.104; EWR, January 1874, pp 8-9, 15/10/1880, pp 434-6; Journal of the WEU, 15/2/1877, p.18; 15/6/1877, pp 82/3; 15/10/1880, p.157)

MRS ALICE COWELL (nee GARRETT) born 1842

Born in Aldeburgh, younger sister of Elizabeth Garrett. Married Herbert Cowell in 1861, a young barrister at the Indian bar. Two children Peter and Christina. (Manton, 1965, p.134) Obtained administrative experience in educational work in Calcutta, stood for election to the London School Board in the place of her sister in 1873. (EWR, January, 1874, p.9)

MISS ROSAMOND DAVENPORT-HILL 1825-1902

Born in Chelsea, eldest daughter of Matthew Davenport-Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, and Margaret Bucknell (a semi-invalid). Unitarian family background, grandfather member of Dr Priestley's congregation at Birmingham, father chiefly remembered for the administration and reform of the criminal law, uncle author of penny postage. Educated at a local day school, boarding school to fourteen, visiting governess at home till twenty-one. Moved to Bristol in 1851, worked with her father, sister Florence and Mary Carpenter for educational and criminal law reform, managing a ragged school for twenty years. Father died in 1872, moved to London in 1879 with her sister Florence. Left the Church of England and joined the Unitarian Communion.

Represented the City on the London School Board, 1879-97. Member of the Industrial Schools Committee, later becoming Chairman of the Brentwood Sub-Committee. Gave evidence to the 1896 Departmental Committee of the Home Office on Reformatory and Industrial Schools. Largely responsible for establishing 140 cookery centres and 50 centres for teaching laundry work. (Dolman, 1896, Young Woman) Took lessons in Slojd (manual work as practised in Scandinavia) from Miss Chapman and Miss Nystrom who supervised teacher training courses in the subject. (WPP, 19/1/1889, p.2) Member of the Froebel Society, Council of the National Education Association, (SBC, 18/2/1899, pp 179-84) Opposed the proposed free meals system for London School Board children. (WPP, 2/2/1889, p.2)

MISS EMILY DAVIES 1830-1921

Second daughter, fourth child of John Davies, Rector of Gateshead, and Mary Hopkinson. (daughter of well-to do business man) Puritanical upbringing, received a small allowance she was not allowed to spend as she liked. Educated at home. Moved to London with her mother after the death of her father in 1860. (Bennett, 1990, pp 12-15)

Member of the Langham Place circle, co-founded the Kensington Society with Barbara Bodichon. Supported Elizabeth Garrett in her struggle to enter the medical profession. Secretary of a committee for obtaining the admission of women to university examinations (1862-1869).

Largely responsible for securing admission of girls to the Cambridge senior and junior local examinations in 1865, inclusion of girls' schools in the Schools Inquiry Commission (1864-1868), before which she and Frances Mary Buss, principal of the North London Collegiate School for Ladies, gave evidence. Founded the London Schoolmistresses' Association in 1866, of which she was honorary secretary till its dissolution in 1888. Began to organize a college for women in 1867, opened at Hitchin in 1869, transferred to Cambridge (Girton) in 1873. Resident mistress 1873-5, honorary secretary 1867-1904, except for a brief interval as Treasurer.

Suffragist, helped organise the first petition presented to Parliament by John Stuart Mill (1866), 1866-7 secretary to the first women's suffrage committee. Represented Greenwich on the London School Board, 1870- 1873. (DNB, 1912-1921, pp 148-9)

MRS EUGENIE E.DIBDIN

Born in France, educated abroad, married Robert W. Dibdin, solicitor, in 1882. Husband one-time Mayor of Holborn, she was Treasurer of the Holborn Habitation of the Primrose League. Represented Finsbury on the London School Board, 1897-1900, supported by the Voluntary Schools Defence Union, parochial and Conservative organisations of Holborn. (Newscuttings, 'School Boards', London 1896-7)

Chairman of the managers of the Drury Lane Day Industrial School, where her daughter taught the girls to swim. Philpott (1904, p.24) is fulsome in his praise: a "most devoted and sympathetic friend, who knows every one "of the children "by name and takes quite a *motherly* interest in them all." (my emphasis) Booked Holborn Town Hall free of charge for a public display of Drill and Gymnastics by Industrial Schoolboys to encourage Industrial School managers to take more interest in physical training and improve the methods used at their own institutions. (SBL Gazette, 21/6/1898, p.85, Argus Guide to Municipal London, 1903, p.125)

MRS MARGARET MARY DILKE/COOKE born 1857

Married Ashton Dilke MP for Newcastle, widowed 1880. One of the English delegates at the Women's International Council, Washington, represented the social purity movement. (EWB, 15/3/1888, p.137) Member of the National Central Society for Women's Suffrage, served on the

Executive Committee of the Women's Suffrage Society with Henrietta Muller in 1890. Honorary Vice-President of the Kennington Women's Liberal Association. (WPP, 15/3/1890, p.257, 26/4/1890, pp 320-1) Ran the Weekly Dispatch.

Represented Lambeth on the London School Board, 1888-91, opposed the proposed system for free school meals. Chairman of the Needlework Committee. (WPP, 2/2/1889, p.2; 9/3/1889, p.2) Married Mr Cooke, September 1891. (SBC, 18/6/1891, p.55) Treasurer of the Central and Western Society for Woman's Suffrage (founded 1872).

MRS CONSTANCE PATEY (nee ELDER)

Graduate of Girton College. Honorary Secretary of the University Association of Women Teachers, governor of Camden High School for Girls. Travelled widely in Germany, the Colonies and America. Managed Board's evening classes at the Blackfriars Group of Schools in Southwark from 1887. (Newscuttings, 'School Boards' London 1896-7, SBL Mins, 1/12/87, p.16)

Unsuccessful candidate for Westminster in 1894 election for the London School Board. (SBC, 1/12/1894, p.643) Represented Westminster, 1897-1900, married Mr Patey in August 1898. (SBL Gazette, 23/8/1898, p.110)

MISS MARGARET ANNE EVE

Father gentleman of Maldon, Essex. Lived with her brother H.W.Eve, Head Master of University College School, member of Council of the Universities Settlement Association. Sister-in-law member of the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Member of staff at the Girls' High School, Croydon, for seven years. She and her sister were school managers in Marylebone during the 1880s, considered replacing Louisa Twining on the Kensington Board of Guardians. (WPP, 12/4/1890, p.296; 28/6/1890, p.429) Represented Finsbury on the London School Board, 1891-1904, candidate of the Islington Liberal Association. Member of the Cookery and Laundry Instruction Sub-Committee. (Dolman, 1896, Young Woman; Newscuttings, 'School Boards' London 1896-7) Almoner of Christ's Hospital School. Sat on the Royal Commission on Industrial Schools. (SBC, 25/5/1895, p.586) Member of the Council of the National Education Association (SBC, 18/2/1899, pp 179-84), Council of the Northern Polytechnic. (Argus Guide to Municipal London, 1903, p.125) Patron of the Guild of St Edmund.

Co-opted to Education Committee of the London County Council following the dissolution of the Board, served on the Polytechnics and Evening Schools, Special Schools Sub-Committees. (SBC, 26/3/1904, p.296; 7/5/1904, p.445)

MRS ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON 1836-1917

Second child of Louisa and Newson Garrett, born in Whitechapel. Educated at home by her Evangelical mother and a governess until 1849, followed by Blackheath Boarding School with her elder sister, Louisa.

First woman in British history to pass through a recognised course of medical training and secure legal qualification in her own country. Began the struggle after attending lectures by Dr Elizabeth Blackwell, Englishwoman who graduated M.D. in the United States and had just been admitted to the recently formed British medical register. With the support of her father and Emily Davies, she got practical experience in the guise of a nurse at Middlesex Hospital, but was unable to secure official status as a medical student. Having been advised that the Society of Apothecaries could not, by its charter, refuse to admit her to its examinations she continued to study privately with sympathetic teachers of recognised medical schools and obtained the Apothecaries licence to practice in 1865. (the society then altered its Constitution to debar any who had not been trained in a medical school) Graduated M.D. from the Sorbonne in 1870. Opened a dispensary for women and children in Marylebone, 1866, became the New Hospital for Women, staffed by women. Renamed the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in 1918.

Suffragist, member of the Langham Place Circle, Kensington Society, Association to Promote Women's Knowledge of the Law. Represented

Marylebone on the London School Board, 1870-1873, elected to Aldeburgh council 1907, mayor of Aldeburgh 1908-9. Married James Skelton Anderson in 1871, two children. (Manton, 1965; DNB, 1912-1921, pp 6-7)

MRS EDITH GLOVER died 1943

Co-founder of the National Organization of Girls' Clubs, member of the executive of the National Council of Women. Married Arnold Glover, co-opted to the London School Board following Mrs Maitland's resignation in January 1903. (Argus Guide to Municipal London, 1903, p.130)

MISS FRANCES HASTINGS

Daughter of Colonel Sir Charles Hastings, KCH. Well-known for her philanthropic work in the central and eastern districts of London, 'commenced her work in the Golden Lane when it was known to be inhabited by thieves of the worst kind.' Member of the East London Christian Women's Temperance and Conservative Associations, represented Tower Hamlets on the London School Board 1882-85. Unsuccessfully stood for re-election in 1885 and 1897. (Newscuttings, 'School Boards' London 1896-7)

MRS RUTH HOMAN (nee WATERLOW)

Eldest daughter of Sir Sidney Waterlow (see Appendix Four) and Anna Maria Hickson, five brothers and two sisters. Mother, daughter of a London merchant and manufacturer, died in 1880. Brother David County Councillor and Liberal MP. Married Francis Wilkes Homan in 1873, widowed in 1880, one daughter. Experienced traveller, President of the Hammersmith Women's Liberal Association and the Cornish Union of Women's Liberal Associations, officer of the South Kensington and Poplar Women's Liberal Association. (Newscuttings, 'School Boards' London 1896; Smalley, 1909, pp 201-2)

Completed a course of artisan scullery and cooking lessons at South Kensington School of Cookery, learnt nursing at St Bartholomew's Hospital. Went on to take classes of Board school teachers, becoming Vice-President of the Pupil-Teachers Association, managed Board schools at the St Leonard's and North End Road Group, Fulham.

Represented Tower Hamlets on the London School Board, 1891-1904. Endorsed free evening schools, Higher Grade schools, teaching temperance principles in Board schools, special teaching for afflicted and delicate children. Manager of New Brighton Industrial School, initiated boot and clothing clubs, sat on the committee of the London Schools Dinners' Association. (SBC, 10/10/1900, p.242; Dolman, 1896, Young Woman)

Co-opted to the Education Committee of the London County Council following the dissolution of the Board, served on the Day Schools and Special Schools Sub-Committees. (SBC, 26/3/1904, p.296; 7/5/1904, p.445)

MISS ARABELLA SUSAN LAWRENCE 1871-1947

Born into a wealthy, legal, strongly Conservative family. Educated at home; Francis Holland School, Baker Street; University College, London; where in 1893 she was awarded the Rothschild exhibition for pure mathematics. Went to Newnham College in 1895, took the mathematics tripos. Returned to live with her mother in the West End of London. (Her father died in her third year)

Eloquent in defence of Church and Empire, Conservative. Interested in the welfare of church schools, school manager. Represented Marylebone on the London School Board, 1900-1904. Co-opted to the Education Committee of the London County Council following the dissolution of the Board, served on the Day Schools, Teaching Staff and Training of Teachers Sub-Committees. (SBC, 26/3/1904, p.296; 7/5/1904, p.445)

Elected to the council for West Marylebone in 1910, as a member of the Municipal Reform Party. Resigned from the party and her seat in 1912 over the issue of the low wages and working conditions of women school cleaners. Joined the Labour Party and worked with Mary Macarthur on the staff of the National Federation of Women Workers.

Elected as the first Labour woman on the London County Council in 1913, Poplar Borough Council in 1919, later made an alderman. One of twenty-eight Borough Councillors (including five women) who refused to collect the Poor Rate on account of the severe unemployment prevailing in Poplar. Spent five weeks in Holloway Prison in 1921.

Stood unsuccessfully for Camberwell in 1920, 1923 elected MP for East Ham North. Parliamentary Private Secretary to the President of the Board of Education and junior minister. In 1924 she became the first Labour woman to address the House of Commons, when she intervened on the Address in reply to the King's speech to object to the cut in government expenditure on the provision of meals for needy children. Lost her seat in 1931. Member of Fabian Society executive, 1918 to 1945, Labour Party National Executive, 1918-41, first woman party chairman, 1929. (DNB, 1941-50, p.489; Rackham, 1948, pp 20-3; Vallance, 1979, p.104)

HON. MAUDE LAWRENCE 1864-1933

Fifth and youngest daughter of Lord Lawrence of the Punjab, Viceroy of India and first chairman of the London School Board. Educated at home and Bedford College. Represented Westminster on the London School Board, 1900-1904.

Co-opted to the Education Committee of the London County Council following the dissolution of the Board, served on the Day Schools,

Buildings and Attendance, vice-chairman of the Special Schools Sub-Committees. (SBC, 26/3/1904, p.296; 7/5/1904, p.445) 1905/6 organised 'on-the-spot' investigation into the way cookery was being taught, findings summarized in a Special Report. (Dyhouse, 1981, pp 94,190) First Chief Woman Inspector at the Board of Education, Director of Women's Establishments at the Treasury, the premier women's post in the Civil Service. Advocated retention of marriage bar, unequal pay, to 1930 Royal Commission of the Civil Service. Chief interest was the Civil Service Sports Council, particularly assiduous in promoting golf and hockey. Awarded the DBE in 1926. (DNB, p.248)

MRS EMMA KNOX MAITLAND (nee REES)

Born at Tenby, South Wales, only child of John Rees, J.P. Settled in Kensington soon after her marriage. Liberal, member of the inner circle of the WLGS, connected with a college for working women. Attended the South Kensington School of Cookery, spent four months as a probationer at St Bartholomew's. School manager in Chelsea, presided over a women teachers club in the East End. Shared in the administration of the Country Holidays Fund. (WPP, 23/8/1890, p.1; Dolman, 1896, Young Woman; Newscuttings, 'School Boards' London 1896-7)

Represented Marylebone on the London School Board, 1888-91, and Chelsea from 1894 to 1902. Represented the London Board at a meeting of the Association of School Board's, February 1901, considering

their position on the issue of higher elementary schools. (SBC, 23/2/1901, p.186)

MISS ELLEN C. McKEE

Member of the WLGS. (SBC, 4/4/1903, p.297) Poor Law Guardian in Marylebone during the 1890s. (EWR, 15/7/1891, p.175; 15/7/1892, p.168; 15/7/1893, p.164) Chairman of Managers of the Kentish Town Group of Board Schools, member of the 'B' Committee. Gave evidence to a Departmental Committee inquiring into the Poor Law Schools.

Represented the City on the London School Board from 1897-1904. Believed in training girls to be good citizens and capable 'help-meets.' Endorsed physical education, including swimming and gymnastics, for both sexes. Argued that it was pointless to feed the mind unless the body was properly developed. Manager of the New Brighton Industrial School. (SBC, 10/10/1900, p.242) Member of the Council of the National Education Association. (SBC, 18/2/1899, pp 179-84)

MRS HILDA CAROLINE MIALl-SMITH born 1861

Niece of Mr J.Allanson Picton, M.A., one of the first members of the London School, and Mr Edward Miall, MP. Educated at the North London Collegiate and Queen's College. In 1882 became one of the first women

graduates to receive a B.A. from London University. Trained as a High School teacher at the Maria Grey College, taught at South Hampstead High School, and afterwards at the North London Collegiate.

Member of the WLGS, secretary of the North St Pancras Women's Liberal Association, connected with girls' clubs in Kentish Town. (Argus Guide to Municipal London, 1903, pp 128-9) Elected to St Pancras vestry in 1897, represented Marylebone on the London School Board, 1900-1904. Candidate for the London County Council in 1910. (Hollis, 1987, pp 349 and 416)

MRS FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER 1854-1935

Only daughter of John Miller, Captain, British Merchant Marine. Enrolled at the Ladies' Medical College, London, finished with Honours, took up practical work at the British Lying-in-Hospital. Popular lecturer on women's suffrage and the medical education of women. (EWB, 15/12/1876, p.548) Ran a practice for women and children from her parents home in Victoria Park during the 1870s, but abandoned medicine as a profession after her election to the London School Board. Member of the Institute of Journalists, the National Vigilance Society and the Pioneer Club for Women. (WPP, 16/3/1889, p.2)

Represented Hackney from 1876-85, despite an attempt to upset her re-election in 1879 because she had decided to keep her maiden name on

marriage to Frederick Alfred Ford, President of the Finsbury Radical Clubs association, in 1877. (WPP, 23/2/89, p.9)

Unable to afford a fourth term on the Board, she turned to journalism, variously editing the Woman's Signal (1895-9), Woman's Herald and Outward Bound (1890-5). Besides writing a weekly column for the Illustrated London News (1886-1918) and contributing to Shafts.

Formed the Women's Franchise League with Mrs Wolstenholme Elmy and Mrs McIlquham in 1889. The League emphasised the rights of married women to the vote and to equal divorce and inheritance laws. Addressed the International Congress of Women, Chicago, 1893. 1902 elected first treasurer of the International Women's Suffrage Committee, Washington. Two daughters, Irene (born 15/4/1880), Helen Caroline. (born 1/7/1881) (Van Arsdell, 1979, p.30)

MISS VIOLET HONNOR MORTEN

Solicitor's daughter, niece of the novelist, William Black. Hospital nurse, public health lecturer, journalist for the Daily News, Glasgow Herald, author of nursing and health text books. An organising secretary of the COS, she also founded the Association of Asylum Workers and School Nurses' Society that supplied nurses to visit elementary schools in the poorer parts of London. (Queen, 28/5/98, p.940) Founded the Women Writers' Dinner, member of the Writers' Club

and the Pioneer Club for women. Founded a small women's settlement in a workman's dwelling in Hoxton, Board school manager from 1894, member of the sub-divisional committee. (Newscuttings, School Boards, 'London' 1896-7)

Represented Hackney on the London School Board, 1897-1900, Southwark 1900-1902. Changed divisions as one of her leading supporters, a 'straight-laced chapel-goer', saw her smoking a cigarette in Fleet Street after accepting a challenge to do so from a fellow member of the Writers' Club. (Gautrey, n.d., p.79) Argued that physical, mental and moral health should be equally fostered in education. Member of the Glasgow-based Society for the Reform of School Discipline. (SBC, 9/11/1901, p.462.) Patron of the Guild of St Edmund. (Board Teacher, 1/7/1898, p.172) Attended National Conference of Progressive Educationists in 1901 (SBC, 8/6/1901, pp 673-4)

MISS HENRIETTA MULLER died 1906

Daughter of a German businessman, born in Chile. Graduate of Girton College, 1877, one of the first women to take Honours. Committed suffrage worker, delegate of Darlington Women's Liberal Association at the Leeds conference of Liberal Associations in 1883, signed memorial to W.E.Gladstone calling for equal suffrage. (EWR, 15/11/1883, p.500) A tax resister in 1888, in 1890 she served on the executive committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage with Margaret Dilke. (WPP, 26/4/1890, pp 320-1) Founder and editor of the

Women's Penny Paper, member of the Men and Women's Club, the Pioneer Club for Women, National Vigilance Society.

Represented Lambeth on the London School Board, 1879-85, previous experience as a school manager. Defeated in 1885, converted to theosophy in the 1890's, accompanied Annie Besant on trips to America and India where she lived for several years. Wrote for The Harbinger, published in Lahore, advocated women's rights, vegetarianism, temperance, hygiene, morality, economy. (Shafts, April 1894, p.269; Turnbull, 1983, p.xviii)

MISS MARY E. RICHARDSON

Member of well-known Lincolnshire family, brother became MP for the Brigg division. Shared a practice at the Inns of Court with the first woman solicitor, Eliza Orme. (EW, 15/11/79, p.509) Honorary Treasurer of the Association to Promote Women's Knowledge of Law. Lived with Jane Chessar during the 1870s. (EW, 15/7/1878, pp 313-4; 15/10/1880, p.435)

Represented Southwark on the London School Board, 1879-1885. 1884 took over the Bedford Park Stores, 1888 bought the cooperative store at Bedford Park, Chiswick. In 1891 this became a limited company, with Mary as its principal shareholder and director. Moved to the Lizard in 1894, engaged in literary work, accepted place on the

Directorate of the Housel Bay Hotel, parish councillor. (Bateson, 1895, p.104)

MISS EDITH SIMCOX 1844-1901

Youngest child and only daughter of George Price Simcox, variously described as a merchant and gentleman. Though her two brothers went to Oxford she, too, is described as "well educated, having a good knowledge of French, German as well as of English literature, and an abiding interest in philosophical study." (McKenzie, 1961, p.4)

Translator, essayist, regular contributor of articles and reviews for the Nineteenth Century, Academy, Fortnightly Review, Manchester Guardian. Suffragist, ran a co-operative shirt-making business employing women, she and Emma Paterson (President of the Women's Provident and Protective League) first accredited women delegates to attend the Trades Union Congress in 1876. Suffered from bouts of depression but, as her beloved friend George Eliot noted, after her election to the London School Board was "much mellowed by a sense of increasing usefulness and by the respect justly awarded to her." (McKenzie, 1961, p.127)

Represented Westminster on the London School Board 1879-82, school manager until 1887. Asked to stand on behalf of the Westminster working men by Emma Paterson. Attended the International Workmen's Conference in Paris in 1883, President of the Executive Committee of

the Matchmakers Union, whom she and Annie Besant represented at the new International TUC in November 1888. Developed asthma in 1886 and moved to a country house in Mayfield, Sussex, with her mother the following year. (Simcox, Unpublished Autobiography of a Shirtmaker, 1876-1900)

MRS ELIZABETH SURR born 1825/6

Doctor's daughter, wife of an eminent City merchant, four children. Suffragist, evangelical, writer of children's books. Husband Joseph unsuccessfully contested Finsbury seat for the London School Board after the death of Mr Tabrum. A vestryman and churchwarden, chairman of Mr Tabrum's election committee in 1873.

Represented Finsbury on the London School Board, 1876-82, 'compelled to retire on account of the state of her health.' (SBC, 21/10/82, p.441) Leading instigator of the 1881 Committee of Enquiry chaired by Lyulph Stanley concerned with allegations of cruelty to boys sent to industrial schools by the Board. Daughter, Minnie, Board school manager in Hackney, 1877-83. (SBL Mins 14/3/1877, Return 31/10/1883) Gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, 1884.

Emigrated to California where the family experienced straitened circumstances, her sons lost their ranch due to a burst reservoir. Helen Taylor helped out with small gifts of money, stepped in with a

larger sum when Elizabeth asked for her help in selling a family picture so that she wouldn't fall into debt. (Mill/Taylor Archives, Helen Taylor from Elizabeth Surr, 17/11/1888, 2/2/1891, 6/10/1891, 7/12/1892, 9/4/1898, 26/5/1898).

MISS HELEN TAYLOR 1831-1907

Youngest child and only daughter of John Taylor (1796-1849), wholesale druggist, and Harriet Hardy (1807-58). Born in London at the beginning of her mother's relationship with J.S. Mill. Educated by her mother, she was her mother's constant companion, and only asserted her independence after her mother married Mill in 1851. Took acting lessons with Fanny Stirling, played a few leading roles in Newcastle in 1856, under the name of 'Miss Trevor'. Abandoned the stage to look after Mill when her mother died in 1858, housekeeper and secretary, filled her mother's role of intellectual companion. Acted as Mill's literary executor after his death in 1871.

Suffragist member of the Kensington Society, it was on her initiative that the London National Women's Suffrage Society was formed, though intransigence on the issue of mixed committees led to her later exclusion. Presided over meetings of the Irish Ladies' Land League, worked for land nationalization as a leading member of the Land Reform Union and the League for Taxing Land Values. Member of the Moral Reform Union. Anti-vivisectionist. Supported the Radical, worked with H.M. Hyndman in the Democratic Federation before it

became the Social Democratic Federation, gave a printing press for the production of posters when Justice was published, helping to sell it in the streets.

Represented Southwark on the London School Board, 1876-85.

Educational programme included the abolition of schoolfees and corporal punishment, free schoolmeals for needy children, and the improvement of school buildings to protect the health and comfort of the children. The reform of the industrial schools, the use of educational endowments for the purposes for which they were intended, (the education of the poor), and the raising and equalising of teaching standards. (EWB, 15/11/1879, pp 508-9)

First woman to attempt to stand for parliament in 1885. Radical candidate for North Camberwell, held only one public meeting which was disrupted by the Liberals and her nomination was refused by the returning officer. Retired from public life, lived in Avignon in the house she inherited from Mill with her favourite white cats until 1904, when her niece Mary Taylor brought her back to England. Died in Torquay.

MRS JULIA AUGUSTA WEBSTER (nee HUGHES) 1837-1894

Daughter of Vice-Admiral Hughes, chief constable of Cambridge & Huntingdon, niece of Joseph Hume. Married Thomas Webster, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, one daughter. Poetess/translator,

contributed to The Examiner, The Athenaeum. (EWR, 15/10/1894 and 15/7/1895, pp 265 and 190)

Studied at South Kensington Art School, expelled for whistling.
Suffragist member of the Kensington Society, Society for Promoting the Employment of Women. (EWR, 15/8/1879, pp 371/2; 16/6/1890, p.270)
Represented Chelsea on the London School Board 1879-1882, 1885-1888, unsuccessful in 1888.

MRS ALICE WESTLAKE (nee HARE)

Daughter of Thomas Hare, President of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage. (EWR, 15/9/1876, p.414) Early supporter of Bedford College. Married John Westlake (1828-1913), K.C.LL.D, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1851-60; the Board's solicitor, Professor of International Law, 1888-1908, member of the International Court of Arbitration under the Hague Convention, 1900-6; author of various works on international law. (Stephen, 1927, p.372) Childless.

Represented Marylebone on the London School Board 1876-88. Spoke on kindergarten and the primary school at an International Educational Congress held in Brussels. (Journal of the WEU, 15/9/80, No.93, p.132)
Attended conference on Royal Commission on Education, Exeter Hall in 1888. A friend of Mathias Roth, (campaigning for regular daily physical education in schools), in 1878 her initiative paved the way towards systematic physical education in elementary schools after the

Board appointed the first 'Lady Superintendent of Physical Education' to train teachers in the Swedish system of physical exercise. (Mackintosh, 1952, p.110) In 1889 Board members blocked an attempt by local managers to reinstate Alice as a school manager, despite Mrs Maitland's opposition.

Member of the Liberal Council of Chelsea, served on the general committee of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association. (EW, 15/8/85, p.380; 14/7/88, p.319) Criticised for stating that her career on the London School Board was not always happy when speaking in support of her husband's candidature at St Austell. (WPP, 19/4/1890, p.309) Treasurer of the New Hospital for Women, (EW, 16/1/1899, p.82), member of Council of the National Education Association. (SBC, 18/2/1899, pp 179-84)

MRS F.L.WRIGHT.

Magistrate's daughter, wife of a barrister. Elected to succeed Mr Spink, resigned. (SBC, 15/7/1893, p.31)

APPENDIX THREE: OTHER WOMEN IN THE STUDY

MRS ARTHUR ARNOLD.

Member of the Women's Educational Union (henceforth WEU), sat on the general committee of the Women's Unionist Association. Unsuccessful candidate for Chelsea in the 1873 election for the London School Board, endorsed compulsory elementary schooling and religious but unsectarian teaching, bottom of poll. (EW, January 1874, p.9; 14/7/1888, p.319) Anti-vivisectionist. Husband edited the Echo, MP for Salford. (Cobbe, 1904, p.679)

MRS BARBARA LEIGH SMITH BODICHON 1829-91

Launched the married women's property campaign, suffragist, advocate of improved education for women and girls, given financial independence at the age of 21. Close friend of Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett, "raised in the Smith family tradition of rationalism, religious toleration and social responsibility." (Herstein, 1985, p.193)

MRS CHARLOTTE AMELIA BRACEY-WRIGHT

Daughter of a French peeress, defeated in three elections for the London School Board, bottom of the poll in East Lambeth in 1894, 1897 and 1900. First stood as a Temperance candidate, then as an Independent on the ticket of the London School Board Progressive Council, listed as having

been or as connected with the teaching profession. (Newscuttings, School Boards, 'London' 1896-7; SBC, 17/11/1900, p.549) Specialized in the state of the sewers as a member of Camberwell vestry, unsuccessful candidate for the London County Council. (Hollis, 1987, pp 349, 403)

MRS JANE M.E.BROWNLOW

Nonconformist writer, lecturer and teacher, Board school manager. Contested 1894 election for the London School Board as a Progressive candidate for Southwark, finished fifth with 7,121 votes. (SBC, 1/12/1894, p.583) Denounced domestic economy for girls, member of the Humanitarian League, WLGS. (Shafts, Jan/Feb.1894, pp 366-7)

MRS CHARLOTTE A.M.BURBURY (nee KENNEDY) died 1895

Daughter of Reverend Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge and Canon of Ely, formerly Head Master of Shrewsbury School. Married William Burbury, a master at Shrewsbury. Secretary to the Cambridge Local Examinations for ten years and the London National Society for Women's Suffrage, 1871-6. Member of the Society for the Employment of Women, sat on the central committee of the WEU and sub-committee for working women's classes. (Journal of the WEU, 15/6/1877, pp 82-3) Governor of the London School of Medicine for Women and North London Collegiate. (EWR, Obituary, 15/1/1896, pp.57)

Contested 1873 election for the London School Board, endorsed technical education, 3Rs and geography. (EWB, January 1874, p.9) Attended 1879 Social Science Congress in Manchester. (EWB, 15/10/1879, p.440)

MRS GHETAL BURDON SANDERSON (nee HERSCHALL) 1832-1909.

Elder daughter of Rev. Ridley Haim Herschall, brother Chancellor of London University. Married John Scott Sanderson (1829-1905) in 1853, assistant physician at Middlesex Hospital when Elizabeth Garrett was getting practical medical experience in the guise of a nurse.

Member of Marylebone Divisional Committee, 1872-1883. (SBL Mins, 10/1/1872, p.49) Resigned following her husband's appointment as Waynflete Professor of Physiology and Fellow of Magdalen College in 1882. Treasurer of the Oxford branch of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants. (WPP, 6/12/1890, p.100)

MRS ELIZABETH MIRIAM BURGWIN (nee CANHAM) 1850-1940

Educated at Whitelands College Girls' School, Chelsea, pupil-teacher at St Luke's Church School, Chelsea, for five years. Married Thomas Burgwin, butcher in 1870, moved to the Girls' Department of West Ham Board School in 1872, December 1873 appointed head of Orange Street School, Southwark. Treasurer of 'The Referee Children's Free Breakfast and Dinner Fund', London School Board appointed her superintendent of

schools for special instruction in 1891. First woman elected to the executive of the National Union of Elementary Teachers, (from 1889, the NUT), Chairman of the Teachers' Orphanage fund in 1885-86 and of the Teachers' Benevolent Fund in 1890-91 and again in 1936. (Horn, 1990, pp 49-60) One of the leading members of the Anti-Suffrage League inside the National Union of Teachers. (Kean, 1990, p.137)

MISS FRANCES MARY BUSS 1828-1906

Completed the formal part of her education at Queen's College. Headmistress of one of the first schools for middle class girls, the North London Collegiate, started in the family home following a reversal in family fortunes. Gave evidence on the state of girls' education to the Schools' Inquiry Commission of 1864-7. Played a leading part in founding the Association of Headmistresses, which held its first meeting in her house in 1874. (Dyhouse, 1987, p.36)

MISS MARY CARPENTER 1807-1877

Daughter of prominent Unitarian cleric Lant Carpenter, writer of verse, a painter, art critic, taught in the Sunday School attached to her father's church. Largely remembered for her work with destitute and delinquent children in the ragged schools and reformatory movements.

MRS MATILDA EVANS

Poor Law Guardian for Strand in 1880s/90s, Independent candidate for Westminster in 1888, 1891 elections for the London School Board. (EWR, 15/5/1890, pp 205-6, 15/7/1893, p.164; WPP, 3/11/1888, p.4; SBC, 1/12/91, pp 671-2) Member of the WLGS, unsuccessful by-election candidate for the London County Council. (Hollis, 1987, p.403)

MISS LUCY FOWLER

Member of Women's University Settlement, Southwark. Manager of the Blackfriars Group of Board Schools, gave evidence to the Special Committee of the London School Board on Underfed Children. (1895) Contributed to COS's Record, on effect of managers' visits to the homes of irregular children on school attendance. (SBC, 10/11/1894, p.552)

MRS MARIA GREY (nee SHIRREFF) 1816-1906

Daughter of Admiral Shirreff, educated privately. Married first cousin, William Grey (died 1864), wine merchant. Member of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage, campaigner for women's education. Founded the National Union for the Improvement of the Education of all Classes in 1871, later WEU, Girls' Public Day School Company (later Trust) in 1872, Teachers' Training and Registration Society in 1877. Contested 1870

election for the London School Board, endorsed non-sectarian religious education. (Papers of Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon, ED/LSB 15)

MRS SARAH WARD HEBERDEN (nee ANDREWS)

Helped form Women Guardians Society in 1881, member of the COS. Poor Law Guardian in St Pancras, 1879-85. Member of Marylebone divisional committee, Committee of Representative Managers of London Board Schools. Gave evidence to Board's Special Committee on the Mode of Election and Powers of Managers. Honorary Secretary of the Self-Supporting Penny Dinners Association. (EWR, 15/5/1884, p.227; Hollis, 1987, p.231) Member of a deputation from WLGS to Education Department urging the importance of London's having an educational authority on which women were fully qualified to serve. (SBC, 4/4/1903, p.297) Married Colonel Heberden.

HON. MARY HENNIKER

Board school manager, member of the Westminster Divisional Committee, Executive Committee of the Primrose League. (EWR, 15/5/1889, p.224)

MRS AMELIA (AMIE) HICKS 1839/40-1917

Brought up by her uncle, returned to her own home when she was 14 and helped her Chartist father in his bootmaking business. Co-founded an

evening school at 17, which she ran for about two years in a cellar underneath the Soho Bazaar. Emigrated to New Zealand at 25 with her husband (a cabinet-maker) and three children, ran a Home for Destitute Children for seven months, worked as a bootmaker and ropemaker. Returned to England, joined the SDF. Arrested for public speaking in Dodd Street, Limehouse, where the SDF established an open air pitch in 1885. (WPP, 24/11/1888, p.1) Member of the Committee appointed by the Womens' Trades Association to assist formation of trade unions amongst women in East London. Secretary of the Ropemakers' Association, testified before the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891. Suffragist and temperance worker. (WS, 29/1/1894, p.212)

Contested 1885, 1888 elections for the London School Board, supported by Helen Taylor and Henrietta Muller. Endorsed free education and provision of at least one meal a day for Board school children. (SBC, 3/10/1885, p.328; 7/11/1885, pp 362-3; WPP, 24/11/88, p.1; Mill/Taylor Special Collection, Helen Taylor from Amie Hicks, 17/10/1885) Served on the Executive of the Women's Industrial Committee from 1894-1908, member of the London Reform Union. (Dictionary of Labour Biography, 1978, pp 89-92)

MISS OCTAVIA HILL 1863-1912

Father corn merchant in Peterborough, ruined by the depression of 1840. Father-in-law, (Southwood Smith, a medical practitioner and 'sanitary engineer'), assumed responsibility for the care of his daughter and her five daughters. Educated at Queen's College, founded a school with her

sisters Florence and Emily at 14 Nottingham Place, in 1863, near which she started her first housing scheme. A founder member of the COS, in 1875 she was appointed to its Central Commission.

MRS HUGHLINGS JACKSON died 1876

Member of Marylebone divisional committee 1872-6, Board school manager. Married to one of the honorary male consultant physicians at the Elizabeth Garrett's dispensary for women and children.

MISS EDITH LANCHESTER born 1871

Architect's daughter. Educated at home, Birkbeck Institute, Maria Grey Teacher Training College. Resigned a teaching post as her socialism provoked conflict, became a clerk. Father and brothers had her committed to an asylum on the day before she was to leave her lodgings and move in with the working class James Sullivan. Released after four days with the support of fellow socialists like John Burns. Couple then lived together in South London, Sullivan worked as a commercial clerk, two children. Member of the SDF, contested the 1894 election for the London School Board in West Lambeth. Presented a memorandum on free maintenance to London School Board in March 1896. (SBC, 1/12/1894, pp 642-3; Rubinstein, 1986, pp 58-62)

MISS ELIZABETH S. LIDGETT

Board school manager in Marylebone, Poor Law Guardian in St Pancras. Member of the COS, WLGS. (EWR, 15/4/1885; SBL Return 1892; Hollis, 1987, p.318) Campaigned for the Progressives Henry Gover and Reverend Wilson in the 1894 election for the London School Board. (Blackheath Gazette, 9/11/1894, p.6) Gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Divorce (1912). (Lewis, 1984, p.11)

MRS MARGARET ETHEL MACDONALD (nee GLADSTONE) 1870-1911

Daughter of John Hall Gladstone, (represented Chelsea on the London School Board, 1873-94), great uncle William Thompson (later Lord Kelvin). Married Ramsay Macdonald. Sunday school teacher and Board school manager. Member of Committee of Representative Managers of London Board Schools. COS visitor, worker for the Children's Holiday Fund, secretary of the Hoxton and Haggerston District Nursing Association. Joined the Women's Industrial Council in 1894, Independent Labour Party in 1896, Women's Labour League in 1906. Inspired by Amie Hicks. (see Macdonald, 1912)

MRS LOUISA TEMPLE MALLET

Member of the inner circle of WLGS, the Women's Liberal Association, National Education Association. Sat on the Central Committee of the WEU,

1876-81. (<WEU Journal>) Friends with Emma Knox Maitland and Eva McClaren, supported Jane Cobden in the 1889 election campaign for the London County Council. (<WPP, 29/12/88, p.5; 21/6/1890, p.412>) Manager of Lisson Grove Group of Board schools in Marylebone during 1880s, stood as a Progressive candidate for the London School Board in West Lambeth in 1891. (<SBC, 17/10/1891, p.425>)

MRS HELENA SHEARER (nee DOWNING) died 1885.

Niece of Mr McCarthy Downing, MP for county Cork. Irish suffragist and socialist. Lectured on factory legislation and the employment of women. On the committees of the Women's Protective and Provident League and the Vigilance Association. (<EWR, Feb.1875, p.85; 14/8/1877, pp 369-70; Feurer, 1988, p.239>) Helped keep the Radical, the organ of the Anti-Coercion Society, afloat. (<Soutter, 1923, pp 122-3>)

Stood for Tower Hamlets in 1879 election for the London School Board, supported by Helen Taylor and Herbert Burrows. Unexpected defeat attributed to over-confidence among her friends who distributed rather than plumped their votes. Endorsed free, compulsory and secular education, the utilising of endowments originally meant for the poor to do away with school board rates. (<Mill-Taylor Special Collection, Cuttings, 15/9/1879>) Poor Law Guardian for Islington, 1884, unable to continue owing to a technicality after her marriage to John Ronald Shearer in November 1884. Died of consumption. (<EWR, 14/3/1885, p.115>)

MISS EMILY ANNE ELZABETH SHIRREFF 1814-1897

Sister of Maria Grey, appointed to the Chelsea Divisional Committee of the London School Board in 1872. (SBL Mins, 10/1/1872, p.48) Honorary Secretary of the WEU. (Journal of the WEU, Vol.4-6, 1876/8)

MRS JANE HEAVISIDES SIMPSON

Contributed to the Radical, contested the 1879 election for the London School Board. (Soutter, 1923, p.123)

LADY HENRIETTA MARIA STANLEY (nee DILLON)

Liberal Unionist daughter of the 13th Viscount Dillon. Married Edward, 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley, member of all Lord Palmerston's Cabinets. Twelve children (including Maude and Lyulph), of whom three died in infancy. (Mitford, 1939, pp xi-xiii) One of the first lady visitors and governors of Queen's College, helped obtain its royal charter in 1853. Co-founded an industrial school, the Maurice Girls' Home, signatore on memorial to the Taunton Commission requesting consideration of girls' education. Vice-President of the WEU, member of the council of the Girls' Public Day School Company. Deeply involved in the progress of Girton, raised funds, acted as Mistress of the College. Member of Westminster Divisional Committee of the London School Board. (WPP, 14/6/1890, p.399; Jones, 1979, p.16; Tweedie, 1898, pp 36-7)

HON. MAUDE STANLEY 1832-1915

Lyulph Stanley's elder sister, "seems to have been in love with Sir Henry Rawlinson, later Lord Rawlinson, and when he married another she evidently gave up the idea of marriage." (Mitford, 1939, p.xviii) Active in the girl's club movement, helped her mother forward the cause of women's education and rights.

Poor Law Guardian for St Anne's, Westminster. (EWR, 15/5/1878, p.221) She and Lady Dilke first women nominated to the Metropolitan Asylums Board by Sir Charles Dilke. (EWR, 15/1/1885, p.30) Chaired the Council of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's Hospital for Women. (WPP, 22/11/1890, p.68)

MISS ANNIE THOMPSON

Contested Tower Hamlets for the SDF in the 1894 election for the London School Board. Supported by Will Thorne and Pete Curran of the Gasworkers' Union, George Lansbury and Herbert Burrows. Endorsed free maintenance for all children attending Board schools, a minimum wage for Board employees, equal pay for equal work by male and female employees of the Board, the eight hour day, a forty-eight hour week, payment of Board members and school managers. Finished seventh out of eight. (SBC, 18/8/1894, p.164; 1/12/1894, pp 642-3)

MRS A. J. THOMPSON

Taught under the London School Board for eight years, member of Wanstead School Board for six years. Contested the City as an Independent in the 1894 election for the London School Board. (<SBC, 27/10/1894, p.299, 1/12/1894, pp 642-3)

MISS LOUISA TWINING 1820-1912

Born into a prosperous, cultivated, religious and high-minded family. Educated at home by her mother and elder sisters. Attended meetings of the British Association, Social Science Association during the early 1850s. Founded a home in London for ex-workhouse girls, member of the Kensington Board of Guardians 1884-98.

APPENDIX FOUR: KEY MEN

GEORGE BARTLEY 1842-1910

Frequent contributor to the SBC, co-edited the Journal of the WEU, the organ of the Girl's Public Day School Trust. Middle class disciple of Utilitarianism, saw education as the great engine of social regeneration, teaching the working classes the habits of submission and obedience. Campaigned for the inclusion of military drill in the elementary school curriculum. Founded the National Penny Bank. (Journal of the Society of Arts, Vol.XVII, 1868-9, pp 1888-94, 224) MP for Islington North, knighted 1902. Chairman of Islington COS, champion of the principles of the 1834 Poor Law, appointed to 1895 Select Committee on Distress from Want of Employment. (Harris, 1972, pp 90-1)

MATTHEW DAVENPORT HILL 1792-1872

Eldest son of Thomas Wright Hill and Sarah Lea. Called to the Bar in 1819, elected MP for Hull in 1833, first Recorder of Birmingham, 1839-64. Member of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, active in the temperance movement, participated in the development of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

Two of his four surviving brothers also enjoyed prominent and illustrious careers in the administrative and public institutions of the Victorian state. Frederic was one of the first inspectors of

prisons, and later had a civil-service career in the Post Office, whilst Rowland was the infamous postal reformer and father of the penny post. As a family group, the Hills are best known as the proprietors of an experimental school, known successively as Hilltop, Hazelwood and Bruce Castle School. (Gorham, 1978, pp 119-47)

NEWSON GARRETT

A self-made man who started life as a pawnbroker in Whitechapel but made his fortune malting grain following the purchase of an iron and coal warehouse at Snape, near his home town of Aldeburgh, in 1841. According to Strachey (1988, p.100) "Mr Garrett was, in name at any rate, a Conservative; but he was so radical and enterprising by temperament, and so wholly original in his thoughts, that no label could have described him adequately; and when in course of time his daughters became prominent in the Women's movement they found him ready to approve and to help them."

W. E. GREG

Well-known and influential journalist, who proposed that most single women over thirty should be sent to Canada, Australia and the United States, where men were in the majority. The remainder being advised to learn from upper class courtesans how to ensure prospective husbands should prefer marriage to their mistresses and their clubs.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT 1827-1904.

Independent Liberal MP for Oxford, Derby and West Monmouth between 1870 and 1904. A Cambridge graduate, he was called to the bar of the Inner Temple in 1854, acquired a large practice at the common law bar and later established a high reputation at the parliamentary bar. A leading anti-woman suffragist, he was one of the original contributors to the anti-feminist Saturday Review also contributed to The Times. An expert on international law and anti-slavery advocate, he abandoned legal work for politics in 1870, became solicitor-general for Gladstone's first Liberal ministry from 1873-4. As Home Secretary in Gladstone's second ministry in 1880, he supported moves to amend the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 by abolishing the imprisonment clause. (eventually withdrawn in 1899) Proposed a royal commission into the whole system of industrial and reformatory schools following the revelations of cruelty and abuse at St Paul's, London. The 'most humane Home Secretary that John Bright had ever known,' he opposed the 1902 Education Act on the grounds that it did nothing for the cause of elementary education, but threatened educational civil war. (Harrison, 1978, pp 93 and 104; Pinchbeck, and Hewitt, 1973, pp 484 and 492)

STEWART HEADLAM 1847-1924

Born in Liverpool, father and grandfather underwriters. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, curate in Bethnal Green from 1873-8. Lost his

curacy because of the antagonism he incurred within Anglican circles by his active adherence of the theatre and the ballet. As he was of independent means, the fact that he never held a permanent position in the Church from 1882 left him free to devote himself to the Guild of St Matthew, a group of Anglo-Catholic social reformers he established in 1877, and the Church and Stage Guild he founded in 1879. Owner/editor of the Church Reformer from 1884 until it ceased publication in 1895, member of the Fabian Society, League for the Defence of Constitutional Rights, Land Restoration Society, Law and Liberty League. Gained notoriety through his telegram of sympathy 'in the name of Jesus Christ the Emancipator' to Charles Bradlaugh during the Parliamentary oath struggle of 1880 and his willingness to supply bail for Oscar Wilde's trial for homosexual offences in 1895.

Represented Hackney on the London School Board, 1888-1904. Endorsed secular education, led a movement in 1890-1 to supply a piano to each school having a hall. Became Chairman of the Board's Evening Classes Committee, vigorous opponent of the 1902 Education Act, served on the London County Council from 1907 until his death. (Bettany, 1926; Rubinstein, 1970.)

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY 1825-1895

Born Ealing, Middlesex. Studied medicine at Charing Cross Hospital, assistant surgeon on *HMS Rattlesnake* (1846-50). Fellow of the Royal Society (1851), Professor of Natural History at the Royal School of

Mines (1854), principal of the South London Working Men's College (1868). Foremost expounder of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. Wrote a number of essays on theology and philosophy from an 'agnostic' viewpoint. Sat on a number of Royal Commissions, perhaps the most influential exponent of the view that both scientific and literary studies were essential to an all-round education. (Simon, 1965, p.166) Represented Marylebone on the London School Board 1870 to 28/12/1872. (resigned)

LORD JOHN LAWRENCE 1811-1879

Born in Yorkshire, went to India in 1830 and held civic posts in Delhi until 1840. Helped his brother Henry (1806-57) administrate the Punjab after Lord Dalhousie ordered its annexation in 1849. Returned to India as Third Viceroy in 1863 following a second breakdown in his health. Retired and returned to England in 1869. Chairman of the London School Board, 1870-3, assisted by a Private Secretary and his eldest unmarried daughter, Emily. (Bosworth Smith, 1883, p.603.) Vice-President of the WEU.

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT 1808-1897

Known as the 'father of the board'. Began work as a ploughboy in Broadclist, near Exeter, but became a cabinet-maker after his move to London. Joined the moral force wing of the Chartist movement in 1848,

becoming an active member of the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association which sought to inform public opinion through the publication of financial and reform tracts. Involved in the reform agitation begun on Clerkenwell Green on the 9th April, 1866, leading up to meetings at Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square. Member of the Workmen's Peace Association, whose offices were part of a Radical centre that also housed the Land Tenure Reform Association under the Presidency of John Stuart Mill. One of the Honorary Secretaries of the Working Men's National League for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts and in 1879 repealers launched a Fancy Fair on behalf of his candidacy for a parliamentary seat in Tower Hamlets.

Represented Finsbury on the London School Board, 1870-90, chairman of the Educational Endowments Committee. Able to devote a large amount of time to Board work because his sons had worked up a great business. (SBC, 2/10/97, p.329; 'Benjamin Lucraft', 1882, pp 3-14; Hurt, 1977, pp 167-191; Walkowitz, 1980, p.105)

JOHN MACGREGOR

Represented Greenwich for six years, he was nicknamed 'Rob Roy' Macgregor after the canoe he used when travelling down foreign rivers. "A man of fine physique and an expert athlete, he had the gentle heart of a woman, and the simple faith of a primitive disciple." (Gautrey, n.d., p.57)

WILLIAM MORRIS 1834-1896

Poet, artist and craftsman, who was both anti-industrialist, and implicitly anti-capitalist. Joined the Social Democratic Federation in 1883, though an early split resulted in the foundation of the Socialist League which tended to put the main emphasis on education. Argued that socialism can only be won, by "First, educating the people into desiring it, next organising them into claiming it effectually." (Thompson, 1955, p.378)

GEORGE POTTER 1832-1893

Born at Kenilworth in Warwickshire, self-educated, apprenticed to a carpenter at Coventry. Came to London in 1854, member of the Progressive Society of Carpenters. Started the Bee-Hive in 1861, represented Westminster on the London School Board, 1873-82. Succeeded in getting a committee appointed with Benjamin Lucraft as Chairman, to enquire into endowments in the London School Board area which might (or should) be applied to education. From the evidence produced in this and subsequent reports, it became clear that substantial funds were being diverted from their proper use, a fact Helen Taylor put to good use when proposing resolutions for the remission or abolition of school fees. Unsuccessfully contested parliamentary seats of Peterborough in 1874 and Preston in 1886. President of the London Working Men's Association.

CHARLES REED 1819-1881

Born Sonning, Berkshire. Father the independent minister, Dr Andrew Reed, founder of orphanages and mental homes. (Reed, 1863.) Mother, grandmother, "women of distinguished piety and usefulness."

(Stevenson, 1884, pp 1-2) Educated Madras House, Hackney, Hackney grammar school, (founded by his father), London University.

Apprenticed to a Leeds woollen manufacturer in 1836, partner in a printing firm in 1840, set up a typefoundry in the City of London in 1861. Liberal MP for Hackney 1868-74, St Ives, Cornwall, 1880-1, knighted 1874. Represented Hackney on the London School Board 1870-1881, vice-chairman 1870-1873, chairman 1873-1881. Sunday school teacher for forty years, President and Treasurer of the Sunday School Union. Organised the Congregational Board of Education with the Liberal MP Samuel Morley, founded a teacher training college at Homerton. Executive to George Peabody, American philanthropist known for building model dwellings for the respectable working class. Married youngest daughter of Edward Baines, M.P. for Leeds, proprietor of the Leeds Mercury. (Stevenson, 1884, Aldrich and Gordon, 1989, pp 203-4)

THOMAS SCRUTTON

Member of the firm of Scrutton and Sons, shipowners and shipbrokers in the City. Represented Tower Hamlets on the London School Board, 1870-82, chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, Upton House

Sub-Committee 1878-81. Sole acting manager of St Paul's Industrial School, 1873-81.

HENRY SPICER born 1837

Member of a Dissenting family, founded a stationary company. Served on the Committee of the Ragged School Union, chairman of Finsbury Liberal Association. Represented the City on the London School Board, 1879-85, chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, 1881-85. Liberal candidate for Islington. (The Board Teacher, 1/6/85, p.169)

HON. LYULPH STANLEY (LORD SHEFFIELD) 1839-1925

Born London, 4th Baron Sheffield of Roscommon and 4th Baron Stanley of Alderley. Nephew, Bertrand Russell, Helen Taylor's godson. Educated at Eton, ex-fellow of Balliol and friend of Jowett. Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, Liberal MP for Oldham 1880-85, sat on the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor (1884), signatore to the Minority Report of the Cross Commission (1866-1888)

Represented Marylebone on the London School Board, 1876-85, 1888-1904, vice-chairman 1897-1904. Leader of the Progressives on the Board but a prominent anti-socialist (Rubinstein, 1970, p.17), he combined school board membership with active philanthropy. Maintained

a private fund to help pay the training college fees of poor pupil teachers and to help other proteges. "Caused some embaressment by befriending the daughter of the schoolkeeper at a school in North London of which he was a manager and asking her parents to allow her to stay at his country house during school holidays." (Maclure, 1990, p.22) Endorsed the extension of higher grade and evening schools, championed the London School Board against the Technical Education Board. (Aldrich and Gordon, 1989, pp 236-7) Founder member of the National Education Association (1889), heir to the principles of the National Education League. 1891, President of the Sloyd Association for of Great Britain and Ireland. (Brehony, 1987, p.277)

SIR SYDNEY H. WATERLOW 1822-1906

Son of James Waterlow. Unitarian background, family pew at South Place Chapel, Finsbury. Educated at St Saviour's, apprenticed to his uncle, a master-printer, for seven years. Later joined his father and brothers in forming the family business. Married (1) Anna Maria Hickson in 1845, six sons and two daughters, Ruth and Hilda (married Alfred Ford of San Francisco in 1886), (2) Mary Hamilton in 1882. Friends with several members of the London School Board, including the Revd William Rogers, Sir Edmund Currie, Samuel Morley and Professor Huxley. Supporter of the WEU.

1867 appointed member of the Judicative Commission, knighted. 1868-85 contested six elections, Liberal MP for (1) Dumfries, (2) Maidstone.

Alderman and Sheriff of London, Lord Mayor in 1872. 1873-83 Governor of the Irish Society, 1874-92 Treasurer of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Served on two Royal Commissions (1) on Friendly Societies, (2) on the Livery Companies. Chairman of The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, built 1,047 improved tenements in seven years, earning an annual profit of 5% for the shareholders. (Potter, 1871, p.553) "No man was further than Waterlow from that pestilent nonsense which swaggers in the market-place under the name of Socialism. No man, perhaps, has done more than he in his own sphere to diminish the inequalities and (if you like) injustices which Socialist orators would remedy by rhetoric. (Smalley, 1909, p.57)

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